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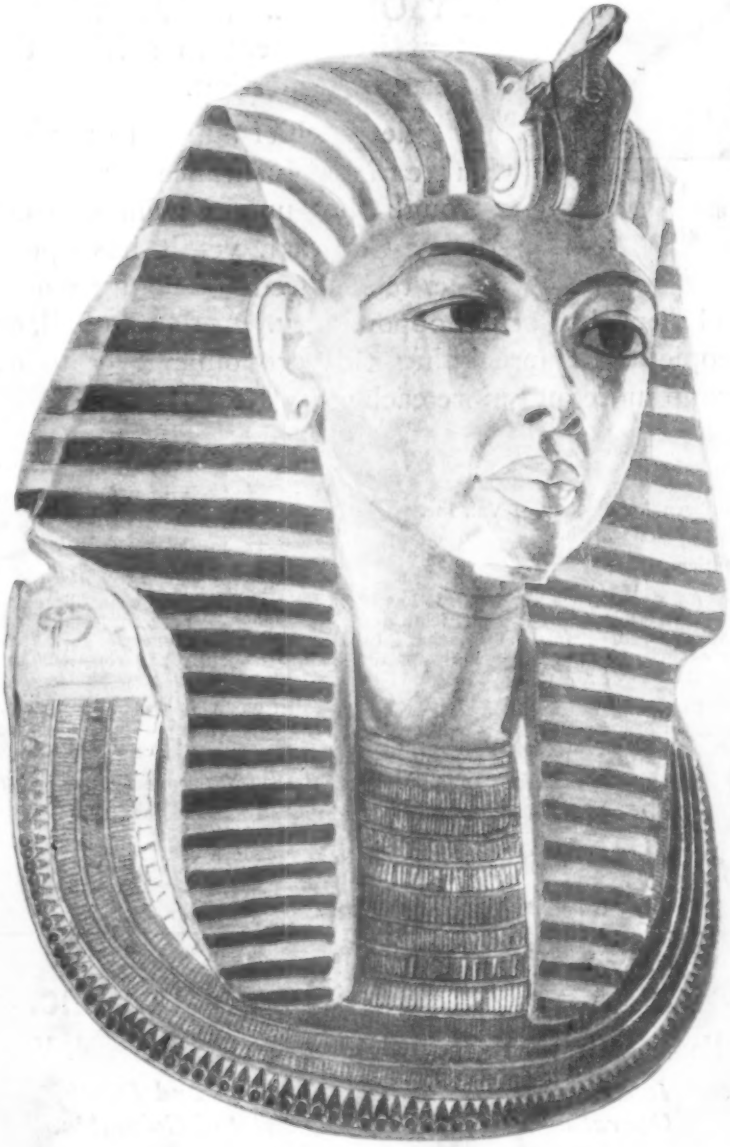

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SEPTEMBER, 1926 15 Cents a Copy

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The Crisis

A Record of the Darker Races

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September, 1926

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THE CRISIS

Vol. 32 No. 5 SEPTEMBER, 1926 Whole No. 191

OPINION of W. E. B. DU BOIS

FONTAINEBLEAU

AT THE PALACE of Fontainebleau, France, there is maintained by an American committee a summer school of music for American artists, teachers and advanced students. The names of the members of this committee are as follows: Mr. Francis Rogers, Chairman, Mrs. J. West Roosevelt, Treasurer, Miss Emily F. Gilbert, Secretary, Mr. George Barrere, Mr. Charles K. Carpenter, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Damrosch, Mrs. Reginald DeKoven, Mr. Blair Fairchild, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Harkness Flagler, Hon. Robert Underwood Johnson, Mrs. Robert W. Paterson, Mr. Ernest Peixotto, Mr. Gerald Reynolds, Mr. Ernest Schelling, Mrs. George Montgomery Tuttle. Their headquarters are at The National Arts Club Studios, 119 East 19th St., New York City.

Notwithstanding all this and notwithstanding the fact that black folk count for something in American music, the application for admission to this school of music has the following sentence in the first paragraph: "I, being a U. S. citizen of the white race, wish to take a course of three months, from June 25, 1926, to September 25, 1926, at the Fontainebleau School of Music", etc.

THE CRISIS has written each one of the committee asking them if this wording of the application appeared with their consent. Not a single answer has been received, although Mr. Francis Rogers has expressed a great desire to "talk" with the Editor before Mr. Rogers leaves for Europe.

CATHOLIC PRIESTS

AWAY DOWN IN LAWLESS Mississippi there exists today the one seminary where colored catholics are urged and permitted to become priests. Nowhere else in the United States is it possible, without extraordinary effort, influence and pressure, for a colored man to be educated for the Catholic priesthood. Nearly all of the Catholic schools are "Jim Crowed" and despite the warning of His Holiness, the Pope, and the plain word of his American representative there is no real effort to better this situation or to give colored American Catholics their own priests.

And the reason for this is clear: the Irish hierarchy which dominates the Catholic church in America is defying the whole Catholic world in its attitude toward black folk.

THE ATTITUDE OF ENGLAND

THE RIGHT HONORABLE LORD CRANWORTH recently read a paper at the Royal Colonial Institute in London, concerning Kenya Colony. He told of the 12,000 square miles that had been taken from the natives and given to white folk and said that only about 5,000 remained. He doubted, therefore, if in another 20 years the white population of Kenya would exceed a hundred thousand. Kenya

therefore could not stand alone but her future must be bound up with her neighbors, Uganda, Tanganyika (German East Africa) and Nyassaland and "probably Northern Rhodesia and the Sudan". Then follows this astonishing statement: *"But in saying this, one stipulation must be postulated. Never must the interests of the white population be allowed to be swamped by the interests of natives, however numerous."*

GRANADA, SPAIN

THE Court of Lions—Worthy of the heaven above it and that heaven without cloud or mist, magnificent in the morning sun; one hundred and twenty-eight marble columns, little, lithe columns of white marble lifting sixty eight arches, swift and slow-curving arches, each arch an arch of arches, an endless line of endless lines, and endless flowers and endless vines and spaces and forms and things that droop and may not fall; and over all and in all the word of Almighty God.

At either end two temples: fragile, complete, finely magnificent, old with eternal youth. At the corners the columns cluster in the creamy daintiness of their beauty, then stand aside and hand their arches one to another; arches that dream beauty to the stars, that stand like virgins in immaculate but passionate conception of unending forms of love.

I can conceive, from out the arches of that eastern temple and from the Hall of Kings, a splendid cortege: golden and crimson and silver in robe and sceptre; cream and black and brown and yellow of face; conquerors of worlds and rulers of men, tall and broad and splendid. They come to the Lions' Fountain with its twelve sides and twelve bronze lions and from the arched galleries round and about look out the faces of the world's great women, Candace and Semiramis and even Cleopatra.

Opposite, from the dainty temple (whose top a Spaniard ruined)—out of this still, heaven-protected beauty may walk a waiting world of evil and sin to be baptized in this sincere and simple beauty, in this beauty of unending pain.

Above and at the side, from the sheen of towered windows, north and south, look down on lion and woman and man and beautiful work of man fair faces of the dead and of them who yet may live beyond the shadow of the Sisters' Hall and the world beyond.

There is nothing left unfinished, not even the brown lintels of the roofs that lean above the court. And everywhere the heaven is translated into roof, a roof of hanging holes, of faintly colored lights and creams.

The arches—the glory of that arch of the Hall of Kings that gives upon the Lion's Court. The suggestion of a point and then a curve so splendid it cannot stop on the capitals but swerves toward a hail and a kiss. And on the arch eighty-eight little points of blue, each with four curves; and back of that seven other little curves in brown and then an inset border and then a wreath of flowers and then eighty curves with blue figures; and then line and curve in black and brown and white and a ravishing inset; border and square and flower and word of God—and then—ah, who can tell all of this one arch!

The procession from the Temple turns to the right and enters the Sisters' Hall—where formerly Sultanas, black and white, poised their eager feet; a hall that rises like some great thought of God up and up—lingering to touch and paint the points of its infinite altitude—a thing of line and point and angle with every sweetness

of curve and with a ceiling that is like the high Alps at Berne brought down and made human and complete. One goes by the jewelled Mirador de Daraza — a jewelled jewel — with glimpse of cypress, orange and myrtle.

There comes a great square hall with a roof of dark and silver stars and constellations and nine arches through which the white walls of Granada and the green mountains of Spain look in on faintly colored walls. It is all white and cream now but once it blazed in gold and crimson, blue and black—so delicately as to leave a sense of living color.

All is different—all is new—no pattern is repeated—yet it is the same, always one in style, in impression, in meaning. This afternoon the waters are surging in the Court of Lions, soft, sweet symphonies—the last sun is kissing the top of the arabesques.

Waters and cypress and hedges of box and the sound of water and great green trees and secret gardens and the splash and roar and drip of water and beyond, fields and hills and mountains and rivers and the white houses of men and above and yet beneath, high perched, ride the great snow Mountains—the ermine of the high Sierra Nevada; and olives and cacti and below the cream-brown-red of the Alhambra and above the high Sierras, ermine-mantled, ride with God.

I saw the tombs of Ferdinand and Isabella today and of the Beautiful Phillip and his wife the Fool;—I saw their tombs in Carrara marble and their coffins in ugly little iron boxes—poor, narrow fanatics to whom Columbus gave a world; religion-mad, bloodthirsty, cruel and yet pitifully, terribly in earnest. O this mad world!

FROM A SOUTHERN WHITE GIRL

"EVER SINCE THE CONFERENCE I have been wanting to write to you because I know you are so interested in adventures in friendship. That week-end in . . . . was a marvelous experience of fellowship. There was a quality in it that has made life infinitely richer and more worth the living. Life became a greater adventure as I looked at it with frank eyes and a free spirit. A member of the human race no longer blinded by superiority and pride, joining in a search with fellow students for life at its best. I had known a number of colored students before; in fact, I had a few choice colored friends but the situation was altered when the colored students became the majority and I a part of the minority. Of course there was opposition when . . . . I talked about attending a colored conference. The president of . . . . . got furious. He said that if we went to the conference and ate with colored people (he even had the audacity to call them 'darkies') and did a whole list of things which he forbade, that we need not return to . . . . . He even had the nerve to tell me that I should not address a letter to the president of the colored college with the title 'Mr'. Isn't that white prejudice personified?

"My family was scandalized too. They said quite frankly that they were too ashamed of me to discuss it. However, there are things far worse than losing one's job if it should come to that, though I think it will not, or even than losing the honor and respect of one's family—for instance, losing one's sensitivity to human need and human longing for kindnesses and understandings, losing one's awareness of the sufferings of personalities that we crush and intimidate, losing the thrill that comes from trying to live freely and finely and fearlessly. One of the most

significant features of these three days to me was the natural friendly way in which those colored college young men and women received my friend and me, without a trace of the difference of a down-trodden people to a group claiming superiority and without an indication of resentment for the wrongs which they and other races had received and were receiving at the hands of white people. They received us as individuals—no more and no less—just as individuals with common interests, needs and desires and hence with potential qualities of friendship. I appreciated that, I think, more than anything else because it was what I so wanted and because it demonstrated quite clearly that there is something in life, especially in Christian living, that is infinitely bigger and finer than race or color or social position. There was a warmth in their cordiality and friendship too which in some way, I do not know how, kindled and renewed my love for the faith in people. It was 'heaps' of fun also!

"Of course, I had already had enough contacts with cultured colored young people to know that about the only difference between colored and white students was in the pigment of their skins—that in their needs, interests, joys, sorrows, failures, successes, thoughts and aspirations, they were all alike; but it seemed that we had an unusually attractive group at ..... We had ..... and of course she is one of the loveliest and most loveable persons one can imagine. Mr. ..... was a princely fellow. Mr. ..... of ..... University was a deep thinker and a real student of human life. Miss .... of .... College is one who, as they say, 'can talk and play and dance and sing, in fact can do most anything'. Mr. ..... and Mr. ..... were more than well worth knowing. ..... is a choice friend. My friend and I had a room at one of the hotels because it was only on those terms that my friend could secure permission to attend the conference. We spent most of our time, however, at ..... College and ..... University, having two meals at each place. The thinking and discussion groups were some of the best I have known in any kind of a student group and I enjoyed it immensely."

PHOTOGRAPHS

THE CRISIS PUBLISHES from 25 to 50 pictures in each issue. For this purpose we ask for photographs and drawings and we reproduce these at our own expense.

We cannot use cuts (except in a very few cases) and we cannot use prints, i.e., pictures printed from cuts. We must have original photographs or drawings in India ink or charcoal.

Photographs should be clear and recent. A good picture cannot be made from a poor, faded, indistinct and old photograph. Remember that an engraving from a photograph is always a poorer picture than the photograph.

Snapshots make poor engravings unless unusually sharp and good.

If possible have a new, clear photograph taken. (Ask the photographer for a shiny print, unmounted, to be used for reproduction in a magazine.)

Do not, if possible, ask us to return photographs. If they must be returned, tell us so plainly and write your name and address on the back of the photograph. We will use every care in returning the picture but we would appreciate it if our friends would not ask us to return pictures.

OFF AGAIN

DR. DU BOIS IS TRAVELING in Germany and Switzerland and will return next month. Mr. Dill and Mr. John P. Davis, Fellow in Journalism at Harvard, are conducting THE CRISIS in his absence.

The Business of Insurance Among Negroes

HARRY H. PACE

President, Northeastern Life Insurance Company

IN 1910 a leading insurance magazine said that "the amount of life insurance carried upon the lives of Negroes is so small as to be almost negligible". They therefore left out of all accounting any matter of insurance statistics applied to colored people. Even today it is possible to find the desired figures in the ponderous insurance reports only because of intimate knowledge and connection with the insurance business.

Between 1913 and the end of 1925, up to which point our figures will be taken, there was a tremendous growth in this business. If all other business interests and financial development among colored people had made the same sort of gains as did the insurance business, we would be today a strongly entrenched financial group, instead of the financial beggars that we are.

In 1912 there was not a single old line legal reserve life insurance company among us. Today there are eight such companies owned and managed by the Race, three of which do an industrial business as well. So that the layman may understand, let us say here that the term "old line legal reserve company" applies to those companies maintaining a reserve as required by law, and as provided in the policy; and writing insurance in amounts of $1,000 and upwards, with premiums payable annually, semi-annually or quarterly. The three companies referred to do, in addition, that form of business, known as "industrial", on which the premiums are collected weekly, the policies providing for death benefits only. They also do a third form of business known as "health and accident" or "sick benefit", on which the premiums are payable weekly, and the benefits from which are paid for sickness as well as death.

At least one company does a casualty business, as well as both legal reserve and industrial, on which premiums are paid monthly.

The eight companies referred to, in the order of age and the classes of business done, are as follows:

North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Co. Durham, N. C. Incorporated 1898. Commenced business 1899. Old Line, Industrial, Health and Accident.

National Benefit Life Insurance Co. Washington, D. C. Incorporated 1898. Reorganized 1918. Old Line, Industrial, Health and Accident.

Atlanta Life Insurance Co. Atlanta, Ga. Incorporated 1916. Reorganized 1923. Old Line, Industrial and Health and Accident.

Liberty Life Insurance Co. Chicago, Ill. Incorporated 1919. Commenced business 1921. Old Line only.

Supreme Life and Casualty Co. Columbus, Ohio. Incorporated 1919. Commenced business 1921. Old Line, Industrial and Casualty.

Victory Life Insurance Co. Chicago, Ill. Incorporated 1923. Began business 1924. Old Line only.

Universal Life Insurance Co. Memphis, Tenn. Incorporated and began business 1924. Old Line and Industrial.

Northeastern Life Insurance Co. Newark, N. J. Incorporated 1924. Began business 1925. Old Line only.

In addition to the above companies, during the year 1925 three other companies voluntarily put themselves on a legal reserve basis. They had previously done a sick and accident business only and had grown to very large proportions. They are:

Southern Aid Society. Richmond, Va. Incorporated 1892. Industrial, Health and Sick Benefit.

Afro-American Life Insurance Co. Jacksonville, Fla. Incorporated 1901. Sick and Accident and Industrial. Old Line.

Guaranty Life Insurance Co. Savannah, Ga. Incorporated 1904. Sick and Accident. Old Line.

In addition to the companies named above there are several others who are on the border line between the assessment society and the legal reserve company, writing policies that might be classed as old line business, but who for one reason or another do not put up the reserve necessary to make them in the legal reserve class. Some others equally large and doing a successful business have not seen the wisdom of making reports to insurance publications. It is

therefore impossible to get even at this date a complete accurate statement of the insurance carried by our people, to refute the statement of the publication cited above.

Among the other companies some of which are doing a very large business but whose reports are not found in the Insurance Year Book are the following:

Domestic Life & Accident Insurance Co., Louisville, Ky.

Mammoth Life & Accident Insurance Co., Louisville, Ky.

Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co., Richmond, Va.

Keystone Aid Society, Philadelphia, Pa.

Underwriters Mutual Insurance Co., Chicago, Ill.

Royal Mutual Insurance Co., Chicago, Ill.

Pilgrim Life & Health Insurance Co., Augusta, Ga.

Georgia Mutual Insurance Co., Augusta, Ga.

Cosmopolitan Relief Association, Newark, N. J.

Globe Beneficial Association, Newark, N. J.

Home Benefit Association, Newark, N. J.

Hope Aid Society, Cleveland, Ohio.

Fireside Mutual Aid Association, Columbus, Ohio.

People's Mutual Insurance Co., Savannah, Ga.

Chatham Mutual Insurance Co., Savannah, Ga.

Douglass Life Insurance Co., St. Louis, Mo.

Mid-West Life Insurance Co., Kansas City, Mo.

Gibraltar Health & Accident Insurance Co., Indianapolis, Ind.

At first sight it would appear that there was a multiplicity of these organizations. But even the above list is woefully incomplete and no claim is made that this embraces all of these organizations. But when we consider that there are 297 white old line legal reserve companies operating in America with 60 industrial insurance companies, we can see how insignificant is the list of 29 companies and associations enumerated above.

Most of the industrial companies accept colored risks and actively solicit colored business. Only one of the regular old line companies, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., is generally known to give a first class colored risk the policy to which his health, occupation and general surroundings entitle him. The Metropolitan has been actively soliciting colored business for years. It so happens that it is the largest life insurance company in America from every angle. Whether its trend toward fairness is responsible for this is debatable. The next largest is the Prudential, which for many years has insured no Negroes, even in its industrial department. The third largest from the point of view of assets, the New York Life, says in a letter recently received: "We issue endowment insurance without rating to only the best professional risks among colored people." They refused to consider a whole life policy to a high class physician who applied.

It is, of course, on such an attitude as this that the business of insurance among Negroes has been built. If the life insurance companies generally had let down the barriers and had been willing to issue policies to colored applicants without discrimination there is little reason to doubt but that the life insurance business would have grown as slowly as most other businesses among us.

A statement recently issued by the *Spectator Magazine* gives the following impressive figures for the insurance business generally:

	Written in 1924	In force Dec. 31, 1924
Old Line (Ordinary)	$ 9,301,477,191	$49,241,424,055
Old Line (Industrial)	3,042,838,573	11,343,740,085
Old Line (Group)	850,421,256	3,194,576,412
Total Old Line	13,194,737,020	63,779,740,552
Stipulated Premium	6,787,634	31,923,807
Assessment Life	103,993,181	563,036,219
Fraternal	1,096,812,848	9,805,647,751
Total Assessment and Fraternal	1,207,593,863	10,400,607,777
Aggregate	$14,402,330,683	$74,180,348,329

Beside these figures our own totals seem puny. But incomplete as they are our figures are tremendously important. The total amount of insurance in force December 31, 1925, of ten companies named above and doing business then, both Ordinary and Industrial, was $141,274,982, with 650,353 policies outstanding. This does not take into account the business of the ill-fated Standard Life of Atlanta with $27,000,000 insurance in force, nor the Mississippi Life absorbed a year previously by the same white interests. Nor does it include the business of the Lincoln Reserve Life Insurance Company of Birmingham, a company whose $100,000 preferred stock with-

out voting power is owned entirely by Negroes, and whose $9,110 common stock is owned by five white men who are the officers and directors of the company. December 31, 1924, the Lincoln Reserve Company had 9,596 policies in force for a total of $9,787,679 on the lives of colored people. Assume that one-half of the Mississippi Life business still persisted after absorption into the white company and add that of the Standard, Mississippi and Lincoln Reserve to the total above and we have a total of *966,893* policies for *$180,263,308* of insurance on colored lives in 10 companies.

But this is not all the insurance that Negroes carry. I have an idea that the sum total of both policies and insurance on the lives of Negroes in the Metropolitan alone is greater than the combined total of all the other companies put together. The Metropolitan boasts that it has 32,447,744 policies in force for $10,522,484,769 insurance, which is a policy for about one out of every four persons in the United States. Since Negroes are about one out of every 10 of the population it is not unfair to assume that at least 500,000 Negroes are policyholders in the Metropolitan alone, and that they carry an average of $500 insurance each or a total of $250,000,000. If that is true the Metropolitan alone is collecting at least $10,000,000 from Negroes yearly, without giving employment to a single Negro agent or clerk or medical examiner, and without lending a dollar, comparatively, to help solve the housing problem which Negroes must solve for themselves or let remain unsolved.

If our assumption is correct, and I believe it is below the actual figures, there are 1,466,893 policies in force to the amount of $430,263,308 on the lives of Negroes in 11 insurance companies. Add to this the Southern companies like the National of Tennessee, who actively seek colored business, and many others of its kind, and the totals will become unquestionably a refutation of the magazine's statements.

Negroes are insured, but even with this they are woefully under-insured. In these days of high living costs the annual appropriation in the budget for insurance of each head of a family should be at least one-fourth of the yearly income. Every married man should insure to the extent of at least $12,500. The man with one child earning $3000 to $5000 a year should have $25,000 of old line life insurance; and the man with two children should have $40,000 at least. This latter sum will cost around $1600 a year with decreasing costs, if taken in participating companies. Invested favorably at 6 per cent $40,000 will yield a wife and two children only $200 a month on which to live after the husband and father dies.

But to return to the statistical side again. The business of life insurance in itself is paving the way for a future economic freedom of the race. One noticeable fact is that many of our prominent men are beginning to see the wisdom and the value of a large amount of insurance. In the applications which have recently come into the office of one company it has been noticeable that the amount of insurance carried in every case has increased tremendously during the past few years. One prominent publisher in the South was carrying a total of $103,000 on his life; a bank president in the South had $62,000; a prominent physician in a large Northern city was insured for $60,000; a prominent dentist in the same city was insured for $40,000; a real estate man in a Middle-Western city was insured for $50,000; a life insurance president had $47,000; a prosperous undertaker in a Southern city had $70 000. A few years ago, or at least in that period before the war, $25,000 was regarded as ample insurance and very few colored men carried any such amount. Today there must be at least 500 men who are insured for approximately $30,000 to $50,000 each, and perhaps 60 men who have insurance ranging from $50,000 to $100,000.

A few years ago the world was startled by Rodman Wanamaker who insured his life at $1,000,000. Today there are thousands of white men who are insured for from $500,000 to $2,500,000. The more clearly the principle of life insurance is understood the more easily insurance is written. Sound thinking business men have come to regard themselves as a factor in every undertaking. When any new project is started they secure insurance against loss by fire, against loss by default, against loss by theft and against loss from every possible contingency. They also now insure *their own lives* for the benefit of a proposition they engage upon, so that if death comes to the principal person responsible for the success of the undertaking there will be no loss. Partnership insurance and corporation insurance are common and frequent and the

volume of insurance throughout the country is growing to proportions that are almost unbelievable. In the 10 years of 1915 to 1925, 28 old line legal reserve companies reported $33,000,000,000 of insurance issued and paid for. Of this amount only 17.7 per cent lapsed, while the whole amount that persisted throughout the 10 years was 58.19 per cent. This enormous volume was made possible by the understanding of the usefulness to which life insurance can be in the settlement of estates and in the preservation of values. It is the quickest way to accumulate a large estate. A man need only determine how much cash estate he desires to leave and by depositing 4 per cent of this amount annually he can create this estate, available immediately in the case of his death. If Negroes in large numbers began to take insurance in large amounts it would accomplish two things: First, it would create large estates, make more and more of our people independent after the head of the family dies. Second, it would begin to build up institutions with tremendous financial resources, which would protect the homes and farms that our people have bought and which too often they have lost as soon as they could command no sources of mortgage money.

While most of the concerns have invested their money in bonds as required by the various states, yet many of them are turning to mortgages for investment and with the increase of their assets it would be very necessary that this be done. While no figures are available for all of the companies there was one of the companies which had total mortgage loans at the end of the year 1923 amounting to $836,269; of this amount $200,745 was on farm property and $635,524 was on city property. These mortgage loans were scattered over 10 states. Another company had almost as much while most of the younger companies had amounts ranging from $38,000 to $96,000 in mortgages on property owned by colored people.

The location of these companies is of some interest as showing the trend of this business. Twenty years ago the center of Negro sick benefit societies was in Alabama. It possessed more of these companies than any other state. When the laws began to get more stringent Georgia assumed the lead. At that time it was possible to organize a sick benefit society almost overnight. Later the state of Georgia made all of these societies put up $5,000 in bonds for the security of its policyholders, and many of them went out of business as quickly as they began. A half dozen or more were absorbed into one organization which continued to absorb smaller companies and this organization, the Atlanta Life Insurance Company, at the end of 1926 had grown to have admitted assets of $747,676, with a total income for the year of $1,543,-645, and with $19,025,031 insurance in force, with a paid up capital of $100,000.

The old line legal reserve business began in Atlanta and its influence has spread throughout the country. Subsequently the North Carolina Mutual at Durham, North Carolina, converted itself into an old line legal reserve company. In 1913 the North Carolina Mutual had assets of $145,958, with an annual premium income of $350,613. At the end of 1925 it had assets of $2,750,-471, with a total income for the year of $2,157,931, and with insurance in force of $44,326,283. This shows what can be accomplished by these organizations on the legal reserve plan. It is notable that the North Carolina Mutual began business in 1899 with assets of $350.

The next purely racial insurance company in point of size is the National Benefit Insurance Company of Washington. The National Benefit began in 1898 as a Sick Benefit concern with a minimum capital of $5,000. It has grown steadily throughout all the years until at the end of 1925 it had a paid in capital of $155,270, it had total assets of $1,107,524, with a total income for the year of $2,235,529, and insurance in force of $42,916,215.

The oldest company in the group is the Southern Aid Society of Richmond. It has recently converted itself from a Sick and Accident Company to a legal reserve company, increasing its capital from $30,000 to $100,000. It was established in 1892 and has done only a sick benefit business in Virginia and the District of Columbia. At the end of 1925 it had assets of $871,345, with a total income for the year of $942,453, and with insurance in force of $7,897,483. This company also absorbed one or two smaller organizations which discontinued business. Of the newer companies there are two at Louisville, Kentucky, the Domestic Life and Accident Insurance Company and

M. O. BOUSFIELD
President of the Liberty Life Insurance Company

J. T. CARTER
President of the Southern Aid Society

C. C. SPAULDING
President of the North Carolina Mutual Life Insurance Company

R. H. RUTHERFORD
President and Treasurer
National Benefit Life Insurance Company

the Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company.

The Mammoth Life and Accident Insurance Company was incorporated in 1915 and at the end of 1925 had admitted assets of $403,184, with total income for the year of $406,938. It had insurance in force of $3,684,580, with a paid in capital of $200,000. The Domestic Life and Accident Insurance Company was incorporated in 1920 and began business in 1921, and at the end of 1925 it had admitted assets of $210,999, with total income for the year of $251,328. It had insurance in force of $4,901,100, with a capital of $119,700.

There are two old line companies in Chicago, the Liberty Life and the Victory Life. The Liberty was organized in 1921 and at the end of 1925 had assets of $495,262, with a total income for the year of $514,602. It had insurance in force of $8,169,692 and with a paid in capital of $175,000.

The Victory Life was organized in 1924 with a paid in capital of $100,000 and at the end of 1925 had assets of $170,812, with income for the year of $65,188 and insurance in force of $2,244,495. There are two other companies in Chicago, the Royal Mutual and the Underwriters Mutual, both of whom are doing a substantial business, but whose reports are not available in the Insurance Year Book.

There is one company in Columbus, Ohio, the Supreme Life and Casualty Company, organized in 1921 with a paid in capital of $100,000, which does an old line business as well as an Industrial Life and a Casualty business. At the end of 1925 it had assets of $241,175, with total income of $131,732 and with insurance in force of $4,495,898.

The Afro-American Life of Jacksonville, Florida, was organized in 1901 as a Sick Benefit Society. It has subsequently converted itself into a legal reserve company with a paid in capital of $150,000. At the end of 1925 it had assets of $449,178, with a total income for the year of $947,082, with total insurance in force of $7,448,324, on the lives of 68,247 policyholders.

The Universal Life of Memphis, Tennessee, was organized as a protest against the taking over of the Mississippi Life Insurance Company by the Southern Insurance Company, which also absorbed the Standard Life of Atlanta. At the end of 1925 it had assets of $130,608, with a total income for the year of $104,499, and with insurance in force of $4,136,049, and with a paid up capital of $100,000.

The youngest of the old line companies is the Northeastern Life of Newark, New Jersey, which began business in 1925 with a paid up capital of $100,000. At the end of the year it had assets of $113,707, and in its first eight months of existence had written $811,000 of insurance.

Below we give a summary of interesting figures of ten companies. This table is worthy of contemplation. It shows the beginning of the accumulation of wealth. It shows safety to policyholders; and that insurance taken in Negro companies is as safe as insurance taken in white companies. All legal reserve companies, white and colored, undergo the same rigid scrutiny by state insurance officials and are subject to the same rules and regulations. The ten colored companies are perhaps more carefully watched than ten similar white companies would be. With seven million dollars of assets, eight million dollars annual income and over a million dollars of invested capital, the business of insurance among Negroes is entitled to the support of the entire race. If it receives that support unstintedly within the next five years the race will have a financial reservoir with tremendous power for good.

	Admitted Assets Dec. 31, '25	Surplus to Policy-holders	Total Income 1925	Total Disbursements 1925	New Paid for Insurance	Total Insurance in Force	Capital Paid In
Afro-American	$449,178	$300,780	$947,082	$741,207	$723,000	$7,448,324	$150,000
Atlanta Life	747,676	210,120	1,543,645	1,427,228	21,332,999	19,025,031	100,000
Liberty Life	495,262	225,704	514,602	391,308	4,627,550	8,169,692	175,000
National Benefit	1,107,524	176,589	2,235,529	2,132,182	42,916,215	43,320,227	155,270
N. C. Mutual	2,750,471	137,709	2,157,931	1,728,185	18,437,768	44,326,283	Mutual
Northeastern Life	113,707	110,668	126,837	15,057	211,500	211,500	100,000
Southern Aid Society	871,345	824,646	942,453	783,786	2,343,095	7,897,483	85,080
Supreme Life & Casualty	241,175	110,367	131,732	121,002	3,131,539	4,495,898	100,000
Universal Life	130,608	112,327	104,199	102,044	5,061,028	4,136,049	100,000
Victory Life	170,812	132,188	66,188	72,373	2,193,706	2,244,495	100,000
	$7,077,758	$2,341,098	$8,769,198	$7,514,372	$100,978,400	$141,274,982	$1,065,350

The Prison-Bound

MARIETA BONNER

—"*God help the prison-bound this evenin'*
Them within the four iron walls——".
—From a prayer heard in a country church.

IT was supper time.

There was salt in Maggie's tea cup. She had not put it in there. She was choking on it.

—Did you ever try to swallow salt tears with food? It will choke you.——

Maggie did not know how the salt got in there. She had not put it in the tea and Charlie had not lifted his eyes from the plate since he had sat down. The salt was there, though.

Maggie held the cup to her lips and her eyes on a spot on the wall behind Charlie. The spot was greasy like all the rest of the wall.

It was greasy and dingy; yellow and cracked. It was smoked up to a sooty ceiling. It made even the window and the glimpse of house tops through the window greasy.

That's all the kitchen was anyhow. Greasy no matter how you scrubbed and dug.

Grease and soot and waterbugs always covered the kitchen. That's what everybody on the three floors above her and the three floors beneath her said. If you lived in a colored tenement you had to take grease and soot and waterbugs along with a constant "break-down" of things.

Yesterday the stove had smoked a little. Today it smoked a little more. Six months from now it would fill the whole room with smoke when you lit it.

The sink was stopping up. The zinc under the stove curled up and tore your skirts when you passed. Little crumblings of things that nobody fixed. Charlie would not. He was too tired when he came home. Always too tired. And the agent said the owner was abroad.

Abroad? Somewhere. Not there.

Everything was breaking down. Even Charlie himself looked broken down humped over his plate.

Why didn't he straighten up some time? His arm thrust out of a sweater with a flannel shirt showing beneath, plied back and forth, up and down, from plate to mouth.

His hands were even greasy and fat. His fingers almost overlapped. They used to be slender and strong. His very shoulders were like young hams. There was no sink, no slender hollow between his neck and shoulders. You could not lay your head there now. He was fat and greasy. Greasy like kitchen wall.

The fork beside his plate could not puncture the rolls of fat. Even Death himself would have to play with his ribs a half hour before he could find his way between them.

How long had Charlie looked like this? Six months? Six years? Must have been longer.

It must have been more than six years when he had begun to "call on her". She hadn't been so fat herself then. He came to call. That was all. There had been nothing compelling or acute about the calling. He had come dryly, placidly, consequentially.

He had squatted in the middle of a chair. Squatted in the middle of sentences that always began and always ended alike. Somehow or other they had married. Squatted in two rooms. Squatted in these. Now he worked in a mill.

She wished that they could get up. Move up. She looked out of the window. Even move up into one of the trees.

She wanted to be at the top of one of those trees. Maybe a leaf. She was a leaf. A leaf greening, drinking in the sun. Shaking on a thread of stem. Charlie—was squatting over his plate. Blind to everything. Blind like a mole.

She cried to him silently: "Mole! Mole! Can't you see the sun? Can't you see the rain? Gold and plenty around you?"

Blind to everything. Only after the rain and sun have become strength and sap—lost their freshness and become a something else—like warm love turned to tepid tolerance—does the mole answer. He sniffs and smells but never sees, and he answers, "Yes, leaf—I see it."

And he squats at the roots and thinks he is in the tree-tops with the leaf. He thinks his eyes are wide open and he is happy—.

Charlie ought to quit squatting. He ought to see. —She set the cup down.

—One iron wall.—

She wondered why he did not say anything. She could talk. He called her ignorant lots of times though. "You ain't never been higher than the fifth grade in Dexter County schools. You ought to learn up here. This ain't down home", he'd say.

She could talk about things though she never talked to people. All the women round about bore themselves with such assurance it shamed her. She hung out of the windows and watched them.

"You aint nothin' but lazy", Charlie told her. "Stay in out them windows."

But she looked and held silent talks with the women who passed. Watched each one as she passed. Talked gayly to her if her eyes were gay. Talked soothingly and peacefully if their eyes stared through everything and saw nothing.

Told the women who passed below her things about herself too. How she would like a gas log in the parlor instead of that coal stove with the broken door. But Charlie grumbled like a whole hive of bees if she asked him to pay the gas bill. She wanted curtains and a new hat and carpet. The place could look nicer.—A long iron wall—.

This was a town where you could not go to the theatre if you were colored. Nobody wanted to sit next to you.

Pushed out, the colored people had one of their own. Charlie said no decent man took his wife there.

Still the woman across the hall—the one who could laugh until tears came to your eyes while you listened to her—that woman said her husband took her and he had even beaten a man once for looking at her too pleasantly.

She laughed all the time. She even made Charlie laugh. Maggie couldn't. Once the other had even laughed at Maggie herself. Laughed when she told her what Charlie had said about the theatre.

Laughed and called her green and countrified. Well, maybe that woman wasn't decent as Charlie said and she had better let her alone like he told her too. She'd never go over the hall into her house though she thought she had heard him laughing in there once. Still, he was a man and she, a woman.

Why didn't he look up? Or laugh, even? The kitchen walls were so greasy. She wanted to see some others. It was too cold to sit in the parlor. The fire was out all the time. It was silly to go to bed as soon as you have eaten. You might die of acute indigestion before morning.

She sat back and closed her eyes. Charlie looked up swiftly. Saw her face, swollen and shiny beneath the tears. Tears streaming down into her tea cup. The sight sickened him suddenly.

Why did she cry? Why didn't she say something? If he asked a question she acted like she had to get her mind together to answer. And then she only said, "Yeah—!"

Women were not supposed to be so soft. Supposed to be soft, but not so soft you could knock a rock through them without their saying a word.

She asked for things, too, as if she were afraid to ask. Why didn't she wheedle things from him? Put her arms around him?

Why couldn't he have a victrola and folks dropping in? Why didn't she dress and fix up the place? The kitchen walls were greasy. Maggie's face. Maggie's clothes——Maggie——.

Oh well! Things he couldn't walk out of. Could not walk around. Or walk beside. Iron walls.

He pushed his chair back.

Maggie raised her eyes slowly. Maybe he would talk to her now. Tell her something someone said. What they had said and what they had done. Where they had been. How he felt when they said it. Where they went to make people laugh like the woman across the hall.

He went into the bedroom. She heard him walking around. Walking heavily and slowly. Maybe he was tired. Tired enough to sit down and talk.

He called from the hall: "Guess I go 'long out. Least till you can stop cryin'".

The salt choked her. She'd been crying, then. She set her cup down. She wiped her eyes.

She'd wash the dishes and wipe up some of the grease. Might not be so bad tomorrow. Tomorrow——.

God help the prison-bound—
Them within the four iron walls this evening!

Salvation by the Ballot

WILLIAM ENGLISH WALLING

This speech was delivered by Mr. Walling in Chicago at the 17th annual convention of the N. A. A. C. P. Mr. Walling is a member of the Board of Directors of the Association.

THERE is no salvation for the colored people in "politics"—not as we have used the word, "politics", in the past. That is, there is no hope in *party* politics. That was the only kind of politics we had in this country until a few years ago. *But if there is no hope in an ineffective ballot, there is salvation when the ballot becomes effective.*

There is only one way that has ever been devised to make the ballot effective and that is organized non-partisan voting—not scattered independent mugwump voting, such as gave us temporary spasms of reform for half a century, but organized, permanent non-partisan voting as practiced in the last two decades by the labor and farm organizations and the Anti-Saloon League.

For a long time it was the fashion among educated people of this country to disparage the ballot. This fashion disappeared with the brilliant success of the progressive movement led by Roosevelt from 1904 to 1914. Progressives were at last aligned against reactionaries in both parties, direct primaries were introduced and the party machines were smashed all over the union. The direct election of Senators made it necessary for candidates to win a majority of the electorate, instead of purchasing legislatures. Money may still count in senatorial primaries. We saw that in Pennsylvania. But popular organizations also count. We saw that in Iowa and Oregon and Illinois.

Direct primaries and the direct election of senators have established popular government in the majority of our states. That is why leading statesmen who do not want to see democracy work too well and leaders of business who do not want democracy to have anything to say as to economic affairs are agreed in denouncing the direct primary. And those who denounce the direct primary invariably also attack organized, independent, non-partisan voting and recommend that we go back twenty years to government by party machines.

Nobody is more interested in making the ballot effective and in non-partisan voting than the colored people. As a persecuted minority the colored people must vote for their friends and against their enemies—absolutely regardless of party. And that is exactly what they are doing in every Northern state. When there is no friend to be voted for and no enemy to be voted against a colored citizen may vote for "his" party. But even then he knows it is only "his" party for that one election and in that one state. In the neighboring state he knows very well that that same party may be in the hands of the Ku Klux. And he doesn't know who will control "his" party in the next election.

But non-partisan voting is comparatively new and there is not always a full realization of what it means. It means, first of all, that the colored people must give first consideration to their own protection and advancement, viewed, of course, in a broad and enlightened spirit. No true friend of the colored people, whatever his politics may be, can honestly urge the colored citizen to do anything else. You must consider yourselves first. Is this narrow or selfish? It is not. If each social group voted intelligently and with true vision for its own highest interests we should have an ideal commonwealth. It is to the general interest that each group should attend to its own business—provided that business is not conceived in a small-minded or short-sighted spirit. We can never get anywhere by attending to one another's business.

But is this all that is needed to make the ballot effective? Can the colored people confine their attention exclusively to their own interests when they are thus broadly conceived? They cannot—and for two reasons. They must take their stand with those who want to make the ballot effective in politics and they must take a stand against those who want to deprive the ballot of all effective power over the social structure. They must be prepared to

fight shoulder to shoulder with the other democratic forces for the direct primary, for congressional government against executive usurpation and for every other democratic institution; and they must be prepared to fight each and every special economic interest and each and every political reactionary that is opposing the development of democratic institutions.

In other words, every issue but one may be subordinated to the interests of the colored people viewed in a large way. But there is one issue—and one only—that can never be subordinated—and that is political democracy itself. When the ballot is threatened or weakened or made ineffective by restricting the power of government over economic affairs, the foundation of all political action is undermined.

The colored people can and should be non-partisan to every other issue. They cannot be non-partisan to the issue of popular government.

There are among the reactionaries sincere friends of the Negro, but they are not the friends of Negro freedom. They want to see the Negro progress, but they do not want to see him gain in political power. They don't want to see any social group gain in political power. They want to keep the power for themselves. And *how* do they hope to keep their power? First they hope to revive government by political machines —they call it "government by party". This is their first line of defense. But it is too late for that now. On every important measure in the last Congress party lines were smashed and the two parties were split between reactionaries and progressives. Not a single measure of the first importance was passed without the aid of reactionary Democrats—mostly from the South. Party voting in Congress has diminished at every session. Then every time the people vote in a primary they pulverize some party machine. And now the primaries have been extended to every state of the union, except New York, Connecticut and four of our smallest states. The only question that remains is whether the New York system is to be extended into America or whether the American system is to be extended into New York. Governor Al Smith proposes to extend the American system into New York.

That battle the reactionaries have lost. The American people have found a way to overthrow political machines and to master party government. We have not abolished the two parties—not at all. We have found a far better way—a way to nominate and elect Republicans and Democrats who will stand with their constituents every time against the party organizations. The parties are still there, but they have no power whatever over the so-called "organized minorities" that have come to take their place.

What are these organized minorities? They have been denounced by President Coolidge and Vice-President Dawes, by President Gary of the Steel Corporation, by the President of the Manufacturers Association and all the political and economic leaders of Big Business. But what are they after all? They are the organized farmers, organized labor, the Anti-Saloon League, the colored vote, the foreign-born vote, and so forth. These organized minorities include 90 per cent of the American people.

Government mainly by organized minorities instead of government mainly by political parties is natural, inevitable, effective, and in every way desirable. The only social group in the entire community that profits by the antiquated, inefficient, corrupt and anti-democratic system of party government is Big Business. And Big Business is also an organized minority.

We are keeping the two parties, but they must be our servants and not our masters. They must confine their attention mainly to administration and we will attend ourselves to the business of instructing our Congressmen how to vote and to seeing that they carry our instructions out.

Having lost their first line of defense, the reactionaries are now scampering to their second line. If congressional government is becoming democratic, in spite of all they can do to prevent it, their next move is to deprive Congress of power, to put all power in the hands of the President and the courts or—better still—to convince the people that that government is best which governs least. In other words, now that the people are capturing the government, government is to be cut down to the minimum functions, especially in the economic sphere. The Nineteenth Amendment is unpopular in our large cities; the Child Labor Amendment was unpopular in our agricultural states; therefore all federal legislation is evil.

N.A.A.C.P. PRIZE BABIES

Harold Calhoun
1st Prize
Keystone, W. Va.

Betty Jane Woody
3rd Prize
Keystone, W. Va.

Maxine Sparks
2nd Prize
Oklahoma City, Okla.

King Chavous
2nd Prize
Lima, Ohio

Rodney Johnson
2nd Prize
Keystone, W. Va.

Loraine and Betty Banks
1st and 3rd Prizes
Mt. Clemens, Mich.

Bertha Johnson
1st Prize
Raton, N. Mexico

Douglas Stanley
3rd Prize
Salt Lake City, Utah

Carthen M. Clemens
2nd Prize
Mt. Clemens, Mich.

Dorothy Jenkins
4th Prize
Mt. Clemens, Mich.

Bettie Lou Woods
2nd Prize
Kelleyville, Ill.

Rodric Whitlow
1st Prize
Georgetown, Ill.

A leading business organization, the National Industrial Conference Board, has estimated that eighty per cent of the work of government already has to do with economic affairs. (The states can do comparatively little in this field for the simple reason that the larger part of our business is now on a national scale.) If the national government is to be narrowly restricted in its functions, above all in the economic sphere, it will be of little use for organized minorities to strengthen their power over government.

Not only will the ballot be of little use for economic purposes, but it will be of little use for any purpose. For who is going to attach importance to a ballot that has no effect whatever on the chief affairs of the nation? And what will the big interests that control politics do for an organized minority if that organized minority has been persuaded in advance that the ballot must not be used for any effective control over the big interests? If all great and constructive federal legislation can be made to appear illegitimate and Congress itself is discredited, the enemies of effective democratic government will have nothing to worry about—and they will be able to resist organized minorities effectively and indefinitely.

I am not speaking of a theory. I am speaking of a fact—a situation known to every member of this convention. Is it not true that even the election of one or two colored aldermen or legislators brings about an immediate improvement in the political position of the colored people? Is it not true that the influence these aldermen and legislators exercise is due not to the fact that they vote with their party, but to the fact that they vote for their colored constituents—regardless of their party?

There ought to be several million colored people voting today. But even a million voters voting independently of party, not as individuals but as an organized group, can wield an enormous power. It can be an increasing power if that vote is cast for those who are for increasing the power of the ballot.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

HONOR ROLL BRANCHES

EIGHTY-SIX branches of the Association paid their apportionment in full for the year 1926 prior to the Chicago Conference. The total sum which these branches agreed to raise and contribute to the National Office for its work was $10,575. These efficient and loyal branches not only contributed this amount but in addition nearly half again that much—a total of $15,094.81.

The names of these branches by states are:

Alabama, Decatur; *Arizona*, Tucson, Bisbee; *Arkansas*, Little Rock, Pine Bluff; *California*, Modesto, Needles, Santa Barbara, Tehama County, San Mateo, San Diego, Los Angeles, Pasadena; *Colorado*, Canon City; *Connecticut*, New Britain-Plainville, New Haven; *Georgia*, Rome; *Illinois*, Chicago, Georgetown, Peoria, Quincy, Bloomington, Danville, Decatur; *Indiana*, Indianapolis, Gary, French Lick, Terre Haute; *Iowa*, Keokuk, Des Moines; *Kansas*, Atchison, Newton, Garden City; *Kentucky*, Frankfort, Lexington, Winchester, Louisville; *Massachusetts*, New Bedford; *Michigan*, Battle Creek, Flint, Hamtramck, Grand Rapids, Mount Clemens, Port Huron, Oakland County; *Minnesota*, St. Paul, Minneapolis; *Missouri*, Jefferson City; *Montana*, Billings, Great Falls; *Nebraska*, Alliance; *New Jersey*, Atlantic City, Long Branch, Montclair, Newark, The Oranges; *New Mexico*, Albuquerque, Raton; *New York*, Binghamton, Elmira, Staten Island, Rochester, Buffalo; *Ohio*, Columbus, Dayton, Lima, Steubenville, Youngstown, Cincinnati; *Oklahoma*, Logan County, Enid; *Oregon*, Vernonia; *Pennsylvania*, Chester, New Castle, Williamsport, Uniontown, Lancaster, Hollidaysburg; *South Carolina*, Calhoun County; *South Dakota*, Sioux Falls; *Tennessee*, Memphis; *Virginia*, Danville; *West Virginia*, Bluefield, Gary, Keystone; *Wisconsin*, Beloit.

On Presenting the Spingarn Medal

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

Delivered at presentation of Spingarn Medal to Dr. Carter G. Woodson at the Chicago Conference.

AT this moment and at this place Chicago is the greatest city in the world, and I hope, for one, to live to see the time when I will not have to travel a thousand miles west and then another thousand miles east in order to come into the presence of an audience of black men and women such as I always find here in this great city of Chicago.

As I think over the seventeen years of the existence of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People I recall the fact that this particular period of years is bounded by two remarkable and memorable anniversaries. Seventeen years ago when the National Association was organized we met together on a date in 1909 which marked the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of the great Abraham Lincoln. Today as we hold this last session of this great Conference in Chicago we stand upon the very eve of the Sesquicentennial, or one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence. It is more or less accidental, as regards the latter if not as regards the former, that this particular period of time should be bounded in this particular way; and yet I am inclined to believe that this period of the seventeen years of the history of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People marks a new era in the history of the Negro in this country.

Why did white and black people feel it necessary to launch a movement of this kind? I do not know what was in the minds of other people but I can remember distinctly what was in my mind; and that was that the issues of Negro history as I had known it in the past and on the opening of the twentieth century were changing. It was a remarkable period—the period of the great Abolition movement. It was marked by notable chapters. It was an epoch moving from one great crusade to another.

There was, first, the story of the Abolitionists themselves—William Lloyd Garrison, Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips and the rest—who lifted up their voices in the Northern States to speak for the millions of black men and women here in America who were unable at that time to speak for themselves.

Then, secondly, there was the great period of the Civil War, when fair young men of the Northern States went forth to fight and die on the fields of battle, with the conviction in their own hearts that they were so fighting and so dying in order that millions of their fellow citizens and brethren might be freed from bondage.

And then I think of another chapter, the story written by the white teachers of the Northern States who, after the Negroes were freed from Southern bondage, left their homes like foreign missionaries in order to go to those Southern States and there bring the light of learning and knowledge to those into whose darkness such light had never been allowed to shine.

That was a wonderful story; and those three great chapters running through a period of sixty to seventy years mark one of the great epochs of human history. But no great movement, after all, lasts forever. Every flood rises to its crest only to fall again back into the sea from which it came. Every act brings its period of reaction, and as the close of the Nineteenth Century began to come along, we realized that that period was coming to its end, and that period, as great as it was, was not going out without clouds to hide the sunlight of freedom. What was the status of the black man at the close of the Nineteenth Century; what was his position at the beginning of the Twentieth Century?

In spite of all that had been said and done, the position of the Negro in the Southern States at the opening of this century was very largely that of men and women who had been carried back once again into bondage. Disfranchisement, peonage, lynching and other familiar aspects of oppression had seized once again upon these men and women and had done their perfect work.

What was the position of the Negro in the Northern States at the opening of this century? In the Northern States the Negro was very largely being forgotten, or, if he was remembered at all, he was being remembered with more or less irritation. In other words, white people North and South were moving out of the period which

revolved about Emancipation, and the Negro was being carried steadily back into bondage and was, as I have said, very largely being forgotten.

This situation at the opening of the present century marks, to my mind, one of the great and permanent facts of modern history just as did the Great War to save the world for democracy. This forgetting of the Negro by the North constituted, it seems to me, a kind of spiritual assassination of Lincoln, exactly as so much of the history of the Christian church constitutes a spiritual crucifixion of the great Prophet of Nazareth. But I want to emphasize very particularly that in so far as this was a tragedy it was a tragedy for white men and for white women. Primarily, as we are just now beginning to understand, it was not a tragedy for the Negro at all. On the contrary, it was a challenge to the Negro everywhere, a challenge in terms of a great pronouncement that if he was really to be free, he must now, in his economic and spiritual life, win that freedom for himself. It was a declaration that the white man had lifted his hand only that the Negro might stand the straighter to win his own salvation, to carve out his own destiny, to stand upon his own feet and prove himself indeed to be a man.

I remember that when I was a young man in college there were two great and overshadowing figures in the Negro world. One was Booker T. Washington, and the other was our great colleague and friend, W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. There were those who said, and I remember how often it was said, that Booker Washington and Dr. Du Bois did not agree, that they were not of one mind and one spirit in their presentation of the Negro problem. I always felt then, as I feel today, that Booker Washington and Dr. Du Bois were really seeing eye to eye and were twin spirits understanding the real challenge to their people at that time, one presenting one side of the shield and the other simply presenting the other. Booker Washington in his emphasis upon industrial education taught the Negroes in that day where they must start if they were going to move upon their own feet. Dr. Du Bois, on the other hand, with his emphasis upon higher cultural education, taught the Negro at that time the goal which he was to find if he kept always onward and upward. Booker Washington taught in that day the material foundation that must be laid for permanence of economic and industrial life if Negro civilization was to stand. Dr. Du Bois, on the other hand, pointed to those shining pinnacles of mind and spirit which were some day going to crown the glory of this great structure. Booker Washington declared, "You must have bread because life is impossible without bread". Dr. Du Bois proclaimed in that day that "Man does not live by bread alone". These two great leaders at the opening of the Twentieth Century, fiery planets, were the twin stars of a great morning pointing to the new day that dawned for your people.

This was the beginning of what I call a new epoch in the history of the American people. Great results have followed upon the opening of this new epoch with its magnificent challenge to you to win your own freedom and find your own way.

In the first place, I see as a result of this great challenge—I see at last, thank God—that the Negroes of this country are a people, a people of single mind and a single spirit, dignified, self-respecting, self-conscious, proud, aggressive. There is no Negro today any longer, is there, who is ashamed of being a Negro. There is no Negro any more who desires to break away from the great company of black men and women into which he was born. You know one another. You have learned how to maintain your rights. You know how to stand together, a proud people, dignified and glorified by your consciousness of self-respect. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, founded in this spirit, is the expression of this idea. No Negro in America today can suffer but the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People stands as a shield to protect him and a sword to destroy the enemies that would destroy him. The Negroes have discovered themselves to be a people and glory in that fact.

Secondly, as a consequence, I notice a changed relationship with white people. What was your relation to white people thirty or forty years ago? In the Southern States you were the victims of white people and in the Northern States you were their wards. In the Southern States as victims you had the contempt and scorn of white people and in the Northern

States as wards you had our pity. Now you want the pity of the North as little as the scorn of the South. You are no longer dependent upon the whites, either as victims or as wards. You are independent; and now if you are to have any relations with white people you insist that you shall have them as comrades and brothers. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is again the expression of this great spirit. Nothing so delights my soul in my contacts with that organization as the fact that we come together to transact business, whites and blacks together, with no consciousness of color and with the recognition of nothing but our common interest and our common lot.

There is a third consequence that has followed: It is a consequence to which reference has been made tonight—the flowering of Negro genius. Or shall I put it in a better or different way—the flowering of human genius, genuine human genius within the Negro's soul. For this result you needed something more than political emancipation. You needed what you are now winning for yourselves. You needed a spiritual emancipation. Now that spiritual emancipation has really begun. We discover today that we are looking into the shining face of the New Negro, a Negro whose face is lifted and upon whose brow there shines the light of Almighty God. This Negro with shining face and aspiring heart is now making his way out there in the fields of science, literature, art and song, shoulder to shoulder, heart to heart, with all men everywhere.

It seems to me as though a great miracle of prophecy were consummated a dozen years ago, it seems to me as though some divine whisper came to the heart of our great friend and comrade, Mr. J. E. Spingarn, when he awoke to his idea of the Spingarn Medal. He felt, I believe, more than he really saw, that the flowering of Negro genius was coming. He saw the difficulties in the way that Dr. Du Bois has pointed out. But you cannot kill that genius. It is like the flowers that spring up from the rocks in the hills and on the plains. You wonder where those flowers can find the soil to grow, but they find that soil, for a divine force is there. So with you. Whatever the difficulty, whatever the obstacles of human indifference and prejudice, your genius is beginning to flower. At last you have taken your place, as you held it centuries ago, in the ranks of culture, poetry and beauty.

In 1914, when he donated this Spingarn Medal to be awarded every year for the recognition and acclaim of that black American citizen who shall be judged to have made in any year or years the highest achievement in any field of human endeavor, J. E. Spingarn did a great thing. I was running over in my mind the other day the roll of honor that has been written in the history of the Spingarn Medal. I see two scientists: First of all, Edward E. Just, who ranks high among American scholars, those who have walked in the footsteps of Darwin and Huxley in biological research; then George W. Carver, whose researches in agricultural chemistry have added immeasurably to man's knowledge and mastery of the rich fruitage of the earth. And there is a soldier, Major Charles Young, steadfast and patient, and efficient in the service of his country and that sister country, the Republic of Liberia. There is the author and the statesman, William E. Burghardt Du Bois, who by his mastery of the English tongue has contributed materially to the literature of modern times and by his founding of the Pan African Congress has lifted up the souls of black folk throughout the world. Then there are two poets and critics, William Stanley Braithwaite and James Weldon Johnson, men whose achievements in the most royal and beautiful of all literary arts have contributed to the glory of their own people and to that greater glory of America which is the possession of us all. Here is an actor, Charles S. Gilpin, who by sheer force of personality, faith and the genius of his art broke through a way for himself and his people into the sacred temple of the drama. And here are two musicians, Harry Burleigh and Roland Hayes, whose voices, among the greatest of our time, have carried to the ears of an enraptured world the intrinsic beauty of Negro song. Here are two great servants of the public weal, Archibald H. Grimké, a gentleman, without fear and without reproach; and Mary B. Talbert, a noble woman, matured by wisdom, strengthened by service, heroic in labor and gracious in hospitality and love.

These names added to the names of your immortal dead—Frederick Douglass, Paul

Laurence Dunbar and others—these constitute your living Hall of Fame, growing from one year to another as one more golden name is added to the list.

And now tonight we are to add the twelfth name in the great succession. Again, as in the beginning, this is the name of a scholar laboring year after year in the quiet seclusion of the laboratory, seeking no popularity, not caring for the applause of men, indifferent to reward, save the plaudit of his own heart and the joy of fresh discovery and knowledge; but now hunted out by those whose duty it is to spy upon such workers and brought here into the presence of this great multitude that he may receive within this place our mutual felicitations:

CARTER GODWIN WOODSON

Educator, Scholar and Author

As I present to you, sir, this Medal, and as I place upon you this ribbon symbolic of your possession of this Medal, I ask you, sir, to receive them in testimony of the honor in which so deservedly you are held by your fellows of both races and to keep them in perpetual memory of our gratitude for your labors for the truth.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing"

WAYNE FRANCIS

BESIDES the "Star Spangled Banner" and "America", there is a third national anthem in the United States, known to ten million of its citizens and adopted by them as their own. Year by year this anthem becomes more widely known, is sung more and more often in churches, schools, universities and at large gatherings. It is a growth of the past twenty-five years, for the "Negro National Anthem", known and sung everywhere in the country where there are colored people, was composed in 1900 in Jacksonville, Florida, by two young colored men, brothers, who were later to make their mark in the musical history of the country.

The two young colored men were James Weldon Johnson and his brother J. Rosamond Johnson. Both of the brothers entered upon distinguished careers, during which the song was all but forgotten. In time the Johnson brothers came to New York and wrote for the musical comedy stage, creating such songs as "Congo Love Song", "Under the Bamboo Tree", "Didn't He Ramble", "Nobody's Looking But the Owl and the Moon", "Sence You Went Away" and more than a hundred others. And James Weldon Johnson, going afield from musical comedy writing, became the author of "The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man", a novel that attracted considerable attention, and a number of poems that were published in *The Century* and other leading magazines. Under President Roosevelt he was appointed United States Consul in Venezuela and took charge in Nicaragua when the marines were landed for the American protectorate. J. Rosamond Johnson, meanwhile, had been establishing himself as a composer and pianist; he became well known in vaudeville circuits throughout the country and as a director of theatre orchestras. In 1913 he was the director of music at Oscar Hammerstein's London Opera House in London. James Weldon Johnson is now Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and was awarded the Spingarn Medal for 1924, for most distinguished achievement as an American of African descent. The latest joint work of the two brothers is the widely known "Book of American Negro Spirituals".

But all this while, among colored Americans, the fame of "Lift Every Voice and Sing" had been growing. It is a growth that has astonished the Johnson brothers most of all.

"The history of the song is the history of a growth quite unexpected either by the authors or the publisher", said Mr. J. W. Johnson. "It was composed in 1900 when I was principal of the Colored High School in Jacksonville, Florida, and my brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, was instructor of

THE 17TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

music in the schools. In that year a celebration was planned of the anniversary of Abraham Lincoln's birth. We felt that it would be well if a fitting hymn could be written and sung by a chorus of children from the various schools of the city.

"So my brother and I wrote the hymn for that occasion. He grasped at once the rhythm of my words and his musical setting seems quite inseparable from them.

"When it was completed, on the day of the Lincoln's birthday anniversary celebration, five hundred children in chorus sang the song with a fervor and enthusiasm I can never forget. We had copies of it made by our publishers in New York for the use of that chorus and then we practically dismissed it from our minds. The following year we moved to New York and devoted ourselves to the musical comedy stage, in the course of that work writing several hundred songs, a number of which gained great popularity. Nothing was further from our minds than that the Lincoln's birthday hymn we had written would become popular and outlast anything we had yet done and possibly would do.

"But some of the children who had first sung 'Lift Every Voice and Sing' in Jacksonville became teachers. Retaining the enthusiasm with which they had sung on Lincoln's birthday they carried the song with them to schools throughout the South. It spread not only through Southern schools but to the North as well, and beyond schools to such organizations as the Y. W. C. A. Church choirs took it up until there is now no section of the country from which there have not come requests for this song. I have had the thrilling pleasure of hearing it sung by school children from Virginia to Florida and across the continent to California.

"As a matter of fact, if you will permit me the immodesty, I am amazed on rereading the words of the song to see how well they are written. I must say I wrote better than I knew. For the sentiments of the song would seem to be as true a hundred years from now as they were twenty-five years ago. And, for the present, in the minds of many colored people, the song not only epitomizes the history of the race, and its present condition, but voices their hope for the future."

Strangest of all, perhaps, although the song is written by Negroes, for Negroes to sing, there is nothing in it which would mar its appropriateness for white Americans. Indeed, several years ago it was sung by white children of the public schools in Washington, D. C., being printed on their song sheets. Mr. Johnson cited a mild protest he had received some time ago from the secretary of a white Young Women's Christian Association. This young lady wrote to ask him why he limited the hymn to colored people and said that the white girls in her Y. W. C. A. also wanted to sing it.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" is now in general use in colored schools and universities and Mr. Johnson said he had been amazed to find that choruses in the most unexpected places have memorized the song and regard it as their own. Possibly the most astonishing development of all, in the history of this song which is referred to as a matter of course as the "National Negro Anthem", is that it is frequently sung by white choruses in the South. Scarcely a week passes that requests do not come in from various parts of the country, either asking for the text and music of the song or requesting permission to sing it.

The growth of this song, now known everywhere among colored Americans as the "Negro National Anthem", has been entirely spontaneous. It grew without being officially adopted or recommended by any committee or organized body. However, for the past seven years it has been regularly sung at the Annual Conferences of the N. A. A. C. P. Its record has astonished not only its writer and composer but E. B. Marks, the publisher, as well, who has had to re-copyright it and print enormous editions to meet the demand.

Recently Dr. Ernest Lyon of Baltimore has voiced a protest against calling this a "national" anthem; but the protest fell on deaf ears. The authors did not give it this name,—the people did. Both words and music are far better than those of the ridiculous "Star-spangled Banner" and as long as the nation wants this song the nation, black and white, will sing the noble lines and the rolling majesty of its music.

THE EMPIRE STATE FEDERATION IN CONVENTION AT MOUNT OLIVET BAPTIST CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

The Negro in Art

How Shall He Be Portrayed

A Symposium

WE have asked the artists of the world these questions:

1. When the artist, black or white, portrays Negro characters is he under any obligations or limitations as to the sort of character he will portray?
2. Can any author be criticized for painting the worst or the best characters of a group?
3. Can publishers be criticized for refusing to handle novels that portray Negroes of education and accomplishment, on the ground that these characters are no different from white folk and therefore not interesting?
4. What are Negroes to do when they are continually painted at their worst and judged by the public as they are painted?
5. Does the situation of the educated Negro in America with its pathos, humiliation and tragedy call for artistic treatment at least as sincere and sympathetic as "Porgy" received?
6. Is not the continual portrayal of the sordid, foolish and criminal among Negroes convincing the world that this and this alone is really and essentially Negroid, and preventing white artists from knowing any other types and preventing black artists from daring to paint them?
7. Is there not a real danger that young colored writers will be tempted to follow the popular trend in portraying Negro character in the underworld rather than seeking to paint the truth about themselves and their own social class?

Here are some answers. More will follow:

Please excuse my delay in answering your letter of Feb. 24th and the Questionnaire which you submitted to me. Many incidental circumstances have intervened and these, along with the exigencies of my own work and the need for careful reflection regarding your inquiries, have prevented an earlier reply.

Let me say at the outset that I am not a propagandist for or against the Negro; that for the most part I have small sympathy with propagandists of any kind or color. In my opinion, the minute any one becomes an advocate he ceases to be an artist. Propagandists may be able and admirable persons and, on occasion, be actuated by most worthy purposes; but, broadly speaking, it seems to me that special pleading is not conducive to the development of a judicial view-point.

I believe that the crying need among Negroes is a development in them of racial pride; and a cessation on their own part as well as on the part of other races, who attempt to portray their character, to estimate their worth according to their success in imitating their white brethren.

The Negro is racially different in many essential particulars from his fellow mortals of another color. But this certainly does not prove that he has not racial qualifications of inestimable value without the free and full development of which a perfected humanity will never be achieved.

Racial antagonisms are not necessarily a matter of color. Religion has produced and still perpetuates them in a most accentuated form. But pride of race has enabled the Hebrew to maintain himself against an age-old proscription; and it establishes him today as a recognized leader among the peoples of the earth.

So far as your complaint at the variety of derogatory portrayals of Negro life, character and self-expression, does it occur to an Irishman or a Jew to imagine for a moment that the cultural standing or development of their races are or could be seriously affected by the grotesqueries of "Mr. Jiggs" or "Mr. Potash"? The illiterate may feel irritated, but the Irishman or Jew who knows that his people have racially so lived and wrought and achieved that the world would be impoverished by the loss of their contribution to its civilization, laughs and is not remotely disturbed by these portrayals of Mr. McManus and Mr. Glass.

If America has produced a type more worthy of admiration and honor than the "Black Negro Mammy" I fail to have heard of it. The race that produced them has to its credit an achievement which may well be envied by any people. Without imitating anybody, often sinned against and seldom sinning, they wrote a page in human history that is not only an honor to themselves but to the Creator of life. Yet when a proposal was made in Congress that the nation erect a monument to commemorate the

splendid virtues of these devoted black women, a number of Negroes protested against it, saying that their race wished to forget the days of its bondage.

It seems to me that a man who is not proud that he belongs to a race that produced the Negro Mammy of the South is not and can never be either an educated man or a gentleman.

My answer to all your queries may be summed up in my belief that the Negro must develop in himself and in his race such things as that race distinctly possesses and without which humanity and the civilization which represents it cannot permanently do.

Of course it is better for Mr. DuBose Heyward to write of him with pitying, pathetic sympathy than for Mr. Cohen (who may himself have felt the sting of racial antipathy and ridicule) to picture him as a perpetual exponent of primitive buffoonery. And it would be better for Negro authors to demonstrate that their race has things the white race has not in equal degree and that cannot be duplicated; to magnify these things instead of minimizing them.

A true artist, black or white, will search for these tokens of racial worth and weave around them his contribution to literature.

Yet it seems futile to cavil because one man writes this way and another, that, as varying abilities and inclinations may dictate.

I write about Negroes because they represent human nature obscured by so little veneer; human nature groping among its instinctive impulses and in an environment which is tragically primitive and often unutterably pathetic. But I am no propagandist for or against any race. I devoutly hope I shall never be one. I am interested in humanity *per se* without regard to color or conditions.

JULIA PETERKIN.

I am neither an artist nor a writer, yet I have traveled much, am a graduate of the school of hard knocks and have thought a great deal. So I would like to say something.

1. No.

2. No.

3. Yes, because these editors show their ignorance in the race question. Every race has its own peculiar talents and abilities. The danger in the United States is not that you have too many original minds and people, but the opposite is the case. No nation or people in the world are being moulded into such a sameness as the people of the United States. And if the Negro writes about the cultured of his race I am sure that these writings will be different from those of white writers and therefore should be welcome. Although the American Negro is, I am sorry to say, being Americanized, I think there will always be a difference between the coloured and white race, even in America. Therefore I think the portrayal of educated coloured folks and their lives will be as interesting if not more so than of the whites.

4. Be true to themselves. The Negro is no worse than the white man, given equal chances. Just here is where the Negro artist and writer must try to counteract the bad influence and as I have said before show up the cultured and good people of his race. If he cannot find white publishers then he must go into the publishing business himself. If the books are well written and the painter is a real artist, painting true to nature, he need not fear for the result.

5. Yes, and more so. The world, especially the European world, should be made acquainted with the condition of the educated Negro in the United States and wherever the Anglo Saxons rule. He has got to learn to be a fighter and to fight so hard till the conscience of the world is awakened and justice is done the coloured people.

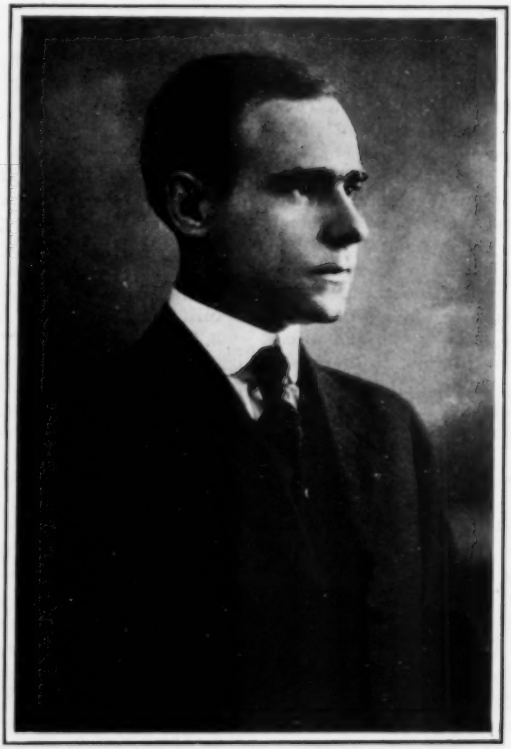
6. I do not think so. Thinking people are beginning to see that a great, almost unspeakable injustice has been and is still being done to the coloured races, and scientists are pointing out that there are no inferior races. That those which appear backward are only so not in kind but in degree.

7. There may be some danger in that the Negro artist must not be afraid and must show up the coloured races true to nature, the good and the bad sides. Here is where the Negro must show himself master of the situation and must be willing to make the sacrifice for the benefit of his race. Even if for a time his work may be unpopular the time will come, if he is a true artist, when he will win out.

OTTO F. MACK,
Stuttgart, Germany.

The Horizon

¶ Rev. Mordecai W. Johnson was elected to the presidency of Howard University by a unanimous vote of the Trustees, to succeed Rev. J. Stanley Durkee, resigned. Dr. Johnson graduated in 1911 from Morehouse College, Atlanta, Ga., with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and was retained for two years as Professor of Economics and History. In 1913 he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from the University of Chicago; graduated from the Rochester Theological Seminary in 1919; was student secretary of the International Committee of Young Men's Christian Association, associated with Messrs. C. H. Tobias and Max Yergan; became pastor of the First Baptist Church of Charleston, W. Va.; received degree of Bachelor of Divinity from Rochester Theological Seminary for the writing of an historical thesis entitled "The Rise of the Knights Templars"; was Rochester Theological Seminary Graduate Scholar at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.; graduated from Harvard University with the degree of Master of the Science of Theology and had the Graduate Commencement Part with the address "The Faith of the American Negro"; was awarded Honorary Degree of Doctor of Divinity by Howard University.



REV. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON, S.T.M., D.D.
President of Howard University

¶ The ground for the new nine-story home of the Phyllis Wheatley Association in Cleveland, Ohio, was broken August 1st. The building, which is to cost $650,000, will accommodate 200 girls.

¶ J. Rosamond Johnson, President of the newly formed Frogs, Inc., purchased for its first little theatre in Harlem the two-story building covering a plot 25 by 99.1 feet, at 46 West 135th Street, near Lenox Avenue, to be owned and managed by Negroes. The property will be converted into a 299-seat playhouse.

¶ Theodore K. Lawless, M. D., of Chicago, has established a remarkable record in the field of Dermatology. Graduating from Talladega College in 1914 he took his medical course at the University of Kansas and Northwestern University. He has done graduate work at Columbia, Harvard, the University of Paris, the University of Freiburg, the University of Lucerne and the University of Vienna. His published works include "A Method for Removing Verrucae from the Skin", in the *Journal of the American Med-*

Theodore K. Lawless | George R. Garner | Samuel J. Battle | S. N. Vass

ical Association, and "The Sarcoma of the Skin", in the *Archives of Dermatology*. At present Dr. Lawless is Assistant to the Professor of Dermatology at Northwestern University Medical School and Dermatologist to the Provident Hospital of Chicago.

¶ Mr. G. Victor Cools, who was National Manager of the Negro division of the La Follette-Wheeler Campaign Committee, has been elected State Central Committeeman for the Progressive Party of Illinois and nominated for Representative in Congress from the First Congressional District of Illinois, the district which is now being represented by Congressman Madden. Mr. Cools received an A.B. degree from the University of Illinois and an A.M. degree from the University of Iowa. He is a member of the American Economic Association, The American Academy of Political and Social Science and a Fellow of the Royal Economic Society of England.

¶ The twenty-ninth annual convention of the Northeastern Federation of Women's Clubs was held in New London, Connecticut, from July 14 to 17. "The Woman's Place in Race Development" and "Suppression of Lynching" were among the subjects discussed. The Anti-Lynching department of the organization under the chairmanship of Dr. Adena C. W. Minot of New York City published a report of their activities during the past year which included pledging prominent pastors of both races to preach sermons on "Racial Tolerance".

¶ J. C. Looney, an employee of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad for the past eleven years, has been appointed to the Safety Committee to represent the colored employees of the railroad.

¶ Samuel J. Battle, connected with the New York police force since 1911, has been promoted to the rank of Sergeant. Policeman Battle took the examination for Sergeant with 5500 others and received the grade of 89.92. He should have been promoted in June, 1925, but the Commissioner of Police promoted some having lower averages and gave no reason for refusing to promote Battle. He is the first colored Sergeant in the State and is now assigned to the Detective Bureau.

¶ Requested by Mr. and Mrs. William J. Bryson, Mrs. Blackstone, a wealthy Chicago woman, has given George R. Garner, Jr., $5,000 to study music in England under the famous English music master, Sir Roger Quilter. Garner graduated from the Chicago Musical College in 1918 and has since toured America, Canada and the British West Indies, sponsored by the Society of American Musicians and the Orchestral Association of Chicago. He was soloist for the Chicago Symphony Orchestra, the first colored man to be so honored. Mr. Garner graduated from the American Conservatory of Music this June with the degree of Bachelor of Music. He sailed to England July 3 with his wife, Pauline Bell Garner, a recent graduate of Northwestern University and herself a talented pianist.

¶ Mr. S. N. Vass has been interested in the field of religious education since 1893. At present he is Secretary of Religious Education of the National Baptist Convention. He is editor of the Adult Quarterly of Bible Interpretation and author of "How to Study and Teach the Bible", now in its second edition.

¶ The Empire State Federation of Wo-

Margaret Graves | Elizabeth Satterwhite | Marketta Harris | Sarah Gordan

men's Clubs met July 6th to 8th in New York City for the 18th annual convention. Among those who addressed the convention were James Weldon Johnson, Roy Lancaster, W. E. B. Du Bois and Eugene Kinckle Jones. Mrs. Addie Hunton was re-elected president. (See page 237.)

¶ "The West 137th Street Branch Y. W. C. A. Life Saving Corps of New York" is the first organization of its kind among colored people. Its purpose is to give volunteer service and assist in saving lives in swimming pools and summer camps. The president is Mrs. Ruth Logan Roberts.

¶ The Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers in Industry opened its doors to Negro women for the first time in June. The summer school, organized in 1921, represents in the United States the first attempt on the part of a woman's college, co-operating with women in industry, to hold a resident school for working women. The purpose of the school is to offer young women in industry opportunities to study liberal subjects and to train themselves in clear thinking; to stimulate an active and continued interest in the problems of our economic order; to develop a desire for study as a means of understanding and of enjoyment of life.

The four applicants who have been accepted are Elizabeth Satterwhite, a dressmaker from the Ashland Place Branch Y. W. C. A., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Sarah Gordan, operator in the garment industry from 137th Street Y. W. C. A., New York City; Marketta Harris, lampshade maker, and Margaret Graves, power machine operator, both from the Indiana Street Branch Y. W. C. A., Chicago, Ill.

¶ John L. Morrison, Editor of the "Rip Saw", Duluth, Minnesota, is dead. He fearlessly condemned in his paper all forms of mob violence. Born in Tabor, Iowa, of a family prominent for their aid to escaping slaves before the Civil War, Editor Morrison was at all times a staunch champion of justice to Negroes.

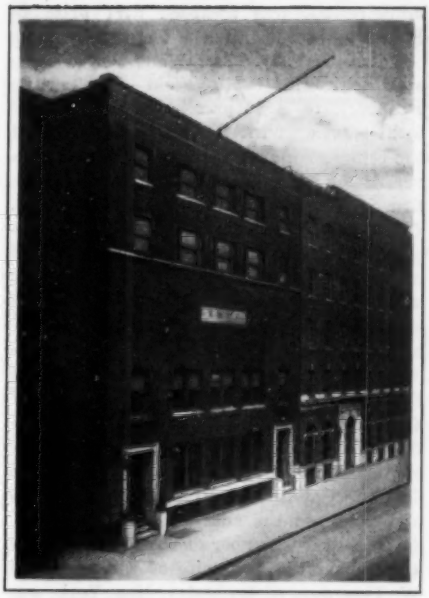
¶ Dr. DuBois was one of the principal speakers at the Farmer-Labor Summer School held at Idaho Springs, Colorado. He spoke on "Co-operation Between the Races" at the large mass meeting on July 4th.

¶ Mrs. Emmett J. Scott has been appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia one of the nine members of the Board of Public Welfare. The board is designed to supplement the Board of Charities, the Board of Children's Guardians and the Board of Trustees of the National Training School for Girls. It has nine members. Under the law it will have complete control and management of a number of important educational and charitable institutions. Mrs. Scott has been prominently identified in social and welfare work in Washington and in Tuskegee.

¶ Roscoe Williams, a Canadian train porter, has done busts that sell for as high as $50. He can model in wood or clay from ordinary photographs. He recently completed a bust of Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National railway, which has been exhibited in Vancouver, Winnipeg and Montreal.

¶ Roger Williams University of Nashville, Tennessee, has launched a campaign for $150,000 under the leadership of Dr. John Newton Washington.

¶ Seventy-five delegates representing eighteen colleges met in Nyack, New York, on July 17th and 18th for the Second Annual Conference under the auspices of the Intercollegiate Association of New York City.



THE 137TH STREET BRANCH Y. W. C. A.
EMMA RANSOM HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY

¶ The 137th Street Branch of the New York Y. W. C. A. has added a new unit to its equipment in the form of a new dormitory, the Emma Ransom House, accommodating 154 persons. It is well equipped with assembly rooms, parlors and rest rooms. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., is responsible for the major portion of the $250,000 which the building cost. Miss Mae C. Hawes is in charge of the house.

¶ The Women's Missionary Society of the Cincinnati Presbytery announces two Fellowships of $500 to be available 1926-7 for students specializing in work among Negroes. The persons receiving these appointments will carry on their field work in connection with the Negro Civic Welfare Association. In addition to these there is one Fellowship of $600 offered by the Associated Charities, the recipient of which will do field work with the Shoemaker Center for Negro Social Work. The appointments will be made upon the joint recommendation of the Women's Missionary Society, the Negro Civic Welfare Association and the Department of Sociology of Cincinnati University.

¶ Mrs. Mabel Hawkins Davis, a teacher in the Warren County, North Carolina, training school, has been awarded a prize of $300 by the Borden Company of New York. The ten children in her class of nutrition and diet made such progress as to merit the award of one of the ten prizes given by the New York company. Under the rules of the contest $200 of the prize money is to be spent for better health at the school, either in a milk fund for the children and sanitary water coolers and playground equipment or the like.

¶ The Jones Hilliard Jubilee Singers of the Zion Baptist Church, Cincinnati, Ohio, won the highest honors at a National Sunday School contest just held by the Negro Baptists in Brooklyn. The Cincinnati singers, ranging in ages from thirteen to sixteen, have been trained for several years by Mrs. Mae Jones Hilliard. They won the Ohio championship at a state contest of the Negro Baptists and when they sang before the Cincinnati Kiwanis Club, Otto Grau presented one of the most gifted soloists with a piano. In Brooklyn they sang before an audience of ten thousand.

¶ Reverend C. D. Hazel, for more than forty years a pastor and Presiding Elder in the A. M. E. Zion Church, died recently in New Bern, North Carolina. Reverend Hazel graduated from Brown University in 1899 and studied at Boston School of Theology, Yale Divinity School, Yale University. During his pastorate he held many important charges, including Providence, Rhode Island, and Paterson and Atlantic City, New Jersey. He was Presiding Elder of the New Jersey Conference for nine years and of the North Carolina, Philadelphia and Baltimore Conferences for six years.

¶ Ten thousand dollars has been appropriated through Mayor John W. Smith and the Detroit Community Fund for an intensive survey of the Negro population of Detroit for the purpose of developing a program for bettering relations between the white and colored races in Detroit.

¶ The National Negro Bar Association met in Chicago August 5th. Among the speakers were Judge James A. Cobb and Special Assistant Attorney General William C. Matthews. Attorney George H. Woodson, the president for the past year, presided.

¶ The National Association of Colored Teachers met in convention at Hot Springs, Arkansas. Important phases of the Negro school system in the South were discussed. W. A. Robinson, was elected president. C. J. Calloway, director of the extension department of Tuskegee Institute of Alabama, was re-elected executive secretary. R. S. Grossley, president of the State College at Dover, Delaware, the retiring president, presided over the Hot Springs meeting. Mr. Robinson holds the degree A. B. from Atlanta University and B. S. and A. M. from Columbia. For three years he has held the position of State Supervisor of High Schools for Negroes in North Carolina and his work in that capacity has been of an outstanding character.

¶ The "Woodmen of Union" Building in Hot Springs, Arkansas, was erected at a cost of five hundred thousand dollars, without extra assessment on the part of the members, and paid for in cash. Aside from the general offices of the W. O. U., it houses a modern bath house, a seventy-five room hotel, a cafe, a banking room and a modernly equipped printing plant. This building covers an entire city block.

¶ Harry F. Wells, a vocational student at Boston University School of Business Administration, was awarded first prize in Spanish (translation English-Spanish, Spanish-English). Mr. Wells served overseas with the 325th Field Artillery in France. He is at present in the Government service at the Boston Post Office. At the completion of his course at Boston University he hopes to represent an American firm in South America.

¶ Francis Anderson Gregory has completed his sophomore year at Case School of Applied Science, Cleveland, Ohio, with winning the sixty dollar first prize in the Whitacre prize essay contest and also a three hundred dollar scholarship. Gregory's standing for the last semester was the highest in the Sophomore class.

¶ At this year's graduation of the Setauket, Long Island, grammar school there were four colored graduates. One of these, Jeanette Calvin, was President of the class and delivered the address of welcome.

¶ In a recent number of THE CRISIS it was stated that the first wife of the late John W. Thompson of Rochester, New York, was a white woman. We are informed by his daughter, Mrs. Joseph C. Moore, that this is a mistake. Both the first wife and second wife of John W. Thompson were of Negro descent.

THE WOODMEN OF UNION BUILDING
Hot Springs, Arkansas

The Looking Glass

LITERATURE

I WAS A BROWN GIRL ONCE

I was a brown girl once and so I know
How black the jungle darkness is at night!

And I remember sometimes in a dream
Brown faces I have loved.
And I remember
The taste of strange wild fruits,
And strange wild lips,
As sweet as honey is. And I have heard
Strange cries at night that were not strange to me,
And they have turned my very blood to ice
And then to fire.

I know my slim brown arms were free and strong,
For labor and for love! I know my feet
Were swift and brown and bare and did not ache
With any weariness of shoes and street.

—Barbara Young in the *New York Times*.

* * *

The New York Times announces the publication of a symposium on civilization, *What is Civilization?* P. W. Wilson has this comment to make on it:

"The volume contains ten articles, reprinted from *The Forum*, with an introduction by Mr. Van Loon. Of the contributors, there are thus eight whose blood is European, one is also African by race and two are Asiatic. If we have to award a prize in this oratorical contest it shall go to Africa and the brilliant essay of Mr. W. E. Burghardt Du Bois. Agree with him or not, this is literature."

* * *

Harcourt, Brace & Co. have published a very interesting book by Paul Guillaume and Thomas Monroe entitled *Primitive Negro Sculpture*. It is a discussion of early African art and is replete with illustrations from the Barnes Foundation.

* * *

The *Hartford, Conn., Times* has the following comment:

A librarian in Houston handed over a copy of "The Fire in the Flint" to one of those grand white dames with a guilty conscience—the kind who are beginning to be "interested in the Negro". This woman said that after she had read the book she cried all night long. Then she in turn handed it on to another grand dame who indignantly returned it saying that it was all a lie; while the third white woman who read the same copy charged that it was an insult to white womanhood (whatever that means). Since that time, it is reported, a large number of "the best people" in Houston have read both "The Fire in the Flint" and "There Is Confusion".

* * *

Langston Hughes has been awarded the Witter Bynner Prize of $150 for the best poetry submitted by an American undergraduate during the past year. He was awarded the prize on a collection of five poems, among which was "The House in Taos". This is the second time that the award has been made to a Negro poet. Countée Cullen received it last year. Mr. Hughes is a student at Lincoln University. His first book of poems, The Weary Blues, which was published in 1925 by Alfred Knopf, has been recently published in London. Waring Cuney, another Lincoln student, received honorable mention in the contest. This year's contest brought over 600 entries from 49 universities and colleges in 26 states.

NEGRO ART

The *Nation* in the latter part of June conducted an interesting symposium on Negro Art. Articles by George S. Schuyler and Langston Hughes were published.

Mr. Schuyler denied the existence of any purely Negro art in America. He claimed that living in a purely American environment the Negro cannot develop separately but is influenced on every side by an American environment. "When", he writes, "he (the Negro) responds to the same political, social, moral and economic stimuli in precisely the same manner as his white neighbor, it is sheer nonsense to talk about 'racial differences' as between the American black man and the American white man. . . . How then can the black American be expected to produce art and literature dissimilar to that of the white American?"

He summarizes his opinion:

"One contemplates the popularity of the Negro-art hokum and murmurs 'How come?'

"This nonsense is probably the last stand of the old myth palmed off by Negrophobists for all these many years, and recently rehashed by the sainted Harding, that there are 'fundamental, eternal and inescapable differences' between white and black Americans. That there are Negroes who will lend this myth a helping hand needs occasion no surprise. It has been broadcast all over the world by the vociferous scions of slaveholders, 'scientists' like Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, and the patriots who flood the treasury of the Ku Klux Klan; and is believed, even today, by the majority of free, white citizens. On this baseless premise, so flattering to the white mob, that the blackamoor is inferior and fundamentally different, is erected the postulate that he must needs be peculiar; and when he attempts to portray life through the medium of art, it must of necessity be a peculiar art. While such reasoning may seem conclusive to the majority of Americans, it must be rejected with a loud guffaw by intelligent people."

Mr. Hughes takes a very different position in the matter. He regrets the seeming tendency of the Negro bourgeoisie to ape white ways of doing things. In the carefree masses of people, who "work maybe a little today, rest a little tomorrow; play awhile, sing awhile; and who don't mind being themselves", he sees a "wealth of colorful and distinctive material for any artist". He writes:

"I am ashamed for the black poet who says, 'I want to be a poet, not a Negro poet', as though his own racial world were not as interesting as any other world. I am ashamed, too, for the colored artist who runs from the painting of Negro faces to the painting of sunsets after the manner of the academicians because he fears the strange un-whiteness of his own features. An artist must be free to choose what he does, certainly, but he must also never be afraid to do what he might choose.

"Let the blare of Negro jazz bands and the bellowing voice of Bessie Smith singing Blues penetrate the closed ears of the colored near-intellectuals until they listen and perhaps understand. Let Paul Robeson singing Water Boy, and Rudolph Fisher writing about the streets of Harlem, and Jean Toomer holding the heart of Georgia in his hands, and Aaron Douglas drawing strange black fantasies cause the smug Negro middle class to turn from their white, respectable, ordinary books and papers to catch a glimmer of their own beauty. We younger Negro artists who create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame. If white people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, it doesn't matter. We know we are beautiful. And ugly, too. The tom-tom cries and the tom-tom laughs. If colored people are pleased we are glad. If they are not, their displeasure doesn't matter either. We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves."

FLORIDA

FLORIDA, which was once one of the freest of Southern states for colored folk and where many amassed fortunes and prominence, has, for economic reasons, become almost an inferno. The Northern rich whites have rushed to this beautiful climate to play and spend. The Southern poor whites from Georgia and Alabama have poured in after them to reap the golden harvest. The first job of the latter has been to use their political power to drive out the Negro farmer and worker by lynching and mob violence. In lynching Florida is rapidly forging to the fore. The New York *Evening World* says editorially:

Within the last three days Florida has made an unenviable record in the way of lynching. One of these two cases illustrates the infamy of mobs taking the law into their own hands, aside from that which is implied in lawlessness itself. A Negro, accused of having attacked a white woman, was caught, paraded through the streets of a town, then hanged and shot. Since this precipitate action this mob has learned that there had been no attack at all. The Negro appearing unexpectedly at the woman's home, she became frightened and ran into the street screaming. It is now admitted by the woman that she was not attacked or even insulted.

In Tampa we learn from a Florida paper these details:

Yesterday afternoon Officer McGwier arrested Alfred Williams, Negro youth, for driving over a white line at a downtown street corner. The Negro failed to stop after passing over the line, and was pursued for several blocks.

McGwier escorted his prisoner to police headquarters. The two were arguing as they approached the sergeant's desk and the officer warned the Negro not to deny his guilt.

"What are you doing here?" inquired the docket clerk, who recognized the prisoner.

"The officer says I passed over the white line, but I did—."

The boy's last word of explanation was cut short by a blow from McGwier's fist, which sent him staggering to his knees. A second blow in the face, placed him flat on the floor.

McGwier, witnesses told Chief York, then lifted his right foot and let it fall in the general direction of the boy's face. A moment later blood spurted from the Negro's nostrils and he was dazed.

When questioned by Chief York today, McGwier admitted striking the boy, but denied kicking him. He said that the Negro called him a liar, and that "no man with a drop of Southern blood could stand for that".

The Negro boy was lodged in the city jail, where he was detained for several hours before friends posted a $10 cash bond as security for his appearance in court today. The bond was forfeited.

* * *

The attitude of white Florida is shown in this extraordinary editorial in the Tampa, Florida, *Telegram:*

An impudent, dangerous, yet educated Negro editor in Chicago, is campaigning the northern and western sections of the country in the interest of the race, with a view of imbuing its members with the idea that their race is of a high intellectual and moral type, and is using the "social equality" issue as a basis for his campaign, and endeavoring to work through the porters of the Pullman Company and their families, who are considered the higher type of the race and a good medium of spreading their doctrines.

Cartoons have recently appeared in a Chicago Negro publication, raising the question, why is it the Negro automobile mechanics and chauffeurs cannot be given an opportunity to prove their efficiency in the U. S. Air Service; and why there are no Negro mounted officers in the police departments of our larger cities; and why Negro firemen are not promoted to engineers; and why Pullman porters, who have proven their value in emergencies, are not promoted to Pullman conductors, and other positions in train crews.

The lecturer is treading on dangerous ground in his arguments, and solicitations, and while such movements may be tolerated in some sections, it is certain that no such arguments or actions, such as proposed, will be tolerated below the Mason and Dixon line.

Negro Pullman porters usually know their place—when they organize to demand that they be conductors—then that's another story.

Poems

FINALITY

GEORGIA DOUGLAS JOHNSON

When love's triumphant day is done,
Go forward! leave me to the night
Beneath the coldly staring stars,
The waiting winter and its blight.

Seek other, fairer lips, forget!
Forbid your lightest thought to stray
In simple kindliness or grief
Upon the closing backward way.

For I would never hold the heart
That mutely quivers to be free.
Unfurl your restless wings, away!
And leave the emptiness to me!

CAPRICCIO

EFFIE LEE NEWSOME

WHEN soft suns of autumn just mock with a shadow,
When thin wind of autumn light blows,
Aye, Swallow, I'd follow,
And follow and follow—
I'd follow the petals of rose!

ANVIL

SALLY BRUCE KINSOLVING

Life is an anvil
Ringing with the stroke
And sound
Of hearts that are beaten
Into singing flame.

The Negro Common School, Georgia

Introduction

IT has long been a commonplace saying among those discussing the Negro problem in the United States that education would solve it. It has also been an assumption that the work of education among Negroes was in a fairly satisfactory condition. But when one turns to find the facts concerning Negro education and particularly educaton in the free elementary public schools, one finds it extremely difficult to get exact data. The United States Bureau of Education can furnish only very general figures. It does not know exactly what moneys are appropriated for the Negro public school systems of the South or how it is expended. In the study of Negro education made by Thomas Jesse Jones between 1912 and 1915 there can be presented only incomplete and partial figures from a limited number of states. This is because the states do not report details of Negro public schools to the United States Bureau of Education. If we turn to the reports on education issued by the states we find it difficult to separate from the totals the items which refer to the education of Negroes.

Nevertheless, each one of the Southern states has a separate system of Negro schools conducted by Negro teachers; and in many cases there are special supervising officers for these schools. It would be a very easy matter, if the authorities wished, to publish from year to year complete details as to the working, income and expenditure of these schools. Since this is not done it has seemed necessary that a special inquiry into the condition of Negro schools in certain states should be made. THE CRISIS MAGAZINE *laid a plan for such a study before the Board of Directors of the American Fund for Public Service and a grant of $5,000 for this study was made in 1925. We have tried to use this sum as economically as possible and with it we have employed experts to study school conditions in a half dozen typical states. We have endeavored to pick out not all of the worse states but some of the best, although for the most part we have confined ourselves to the Southern South.*

It is, of course, difficult in a study of this sort to maintain always the judicial attitude. We have tried in this study, on the one hand, to recognize the historical and social difficulties which the Southern states have in administering two sets of schools for the children of the South. And on the other hand, we could not naturally forget the tremendous disadvantages under which the Negroes have labored and are laboring because of poor public schools.

We are here publishing this month the first study which covers the state of Georgia and is based upon a study of the school reports issued by the state and municipalities and which has been supplemented by personal visits and inspection of men trained in school work and in social investigation. It goes without saying that this study is incomplete and fragmentary, but we do think that it gives a fair picture of Negro school conditions in Georgia.

HISTORY OF THE NEGRO SCHOOLS

THE history of the Negro Common School in Georgia and in fact in the South may be divided into five epochs each typified by a certain genre of school. These five types are:

1. The Ante Bellum Schools
2. The Army Schools
3. The Schools of the Freedmen's Bureau
4. The Missionary Schools
5. The Public Schools

Almost from the beginning clandestine schools for Negroes were conducted by liberal-minded persons. These were usually manned by white teachers. A typical instance is that of a school in Charleston, S. C., which began in 1744 and lasted some 10 years. It was taught by a Negro and was for free Negroes only, although some slaves who hired their time managed to send their children there. Free Negroes in Georgia used to send children to Charleston for education. These returned and opened clandestine schools at several places in the state. In Savannah a French Negro, Julian Froumontaine, from San Domingo, conducted a free Negro school openly from 1819 to 1829, and secretly for some time after. Schools were stopped nearly every-

where after 1830 and as slavery became more and more a commercial venture practically all attempts at Negro education were given up. The fact that in 1770 Georgia fined any person who taught a slave to read or write £20 seems to indicate that the education of Negroes, at least in rudimentary knowledge, was steadily increasing. By 1829 the dissemination of education had been carried on with such increased vigor that the state enacted:

"If any slave, Negro, or free person of color, or any white person shall teach any other slave, Negro or free person of color, to read or write, either written or printed characters, the same free person of color or slave, shall be punished by fine and whipping, or fine or whipping, at the discretion of the court; and if a white person so offend, he, she or they shall be punished with a fine not exceeding $500 and imprisonment in the common jail at the discretion of the court."

The more commercial a proposition slavery became, the more drastic were the laws enacted against education, which might make the Negro discontent or restless with his lot. In 1833 the above law was put into the penal code, with additional penalties for using slaves in printing offices to set type. These laws were violated sometimes by individual masters and clandestine schools were opened in some cities before the War. In 1850 and thereafter there was some agitation to repeal these laws and a bill to that effect failed in the senate of Georgia by two or three votes.

With the dissolution of the Union and the outbreak of the Civil War Negro slaves began to be educated in fairly large numbers. Many of them escaped from the plantations and made their way to the Union forces. Efforts were made by Union generals to check these but they were able to prevent only partially the arrival of slaves. The fugitives poured into the lines and gradually were used as laborers and helpers. Immediately teaching began and gradually schools sprang up. When at last the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and Negro soldiers were called for, it was necessary to provide more systematically for the ex-slaves. Various systems and experiments grew up here and there. The Freedmen were massed in large numbers at Fortress Monroe, Va., Washington, D. C., Beaufort and Port Royal, S. C., New Orleans, La., and elsewhere. In such places schools immediatelv sprang up under the army officers and chaplains. Under the direction of General Rufus Saxton, forfeited estates were sold, plantations were leased and the camp followers of Sherman's "March to the Sea" were here received and educated.

Directly after the war a bureau for the welfare of the freed slaves was instituted and J. W. Alford was appointed General Secretary of Schools. This Bureau helped materially in Georgia as elsewhere.

Concurrently with the Freedmen's Bureau, missionary and benevolent societies were expending a great deal of money for the establishment of Negro schools. The following sums were expended by these agencies from 1866 to 1870:

Year	Expended by Freedmen's Bureau	Expended by Benevolent Associations
1866	$123,655.39	$82,200.00
1867	531,345.48	65,087.01
1868	965,806.67	700,000.00
1869	924,182.16	365,000.00
1870	976,853.29	360,000.00

But the real genesis of the Negro school system of Georgia was in a memorable conference in Savannah in December, 1864, when Stanton, Secretary of War, and General Sherman met five or six of the leading Negro ministers and, after a dramatic interchange of opinion, free schools were decided upon. An old slave market was bought, the bars which marked the slave stalls broken and a school opened.

The provisional government under the Constitution of 1865 gave the legislature power to establish schools, but did not contemplate schools for Negroes. The new constitution of 1868 provided for schools for both races but no schools were opened until the summer of 1871. In 1872 lack of funds compelled the suspension of the schools; but they were finally started permanently in 1873.

The growth of the public school for Negroes in Georgia from 1871 to 1899 can best be noted by the following table:

Date	School Population	Enrollment	Percent Enrolled	Daily Attendance	Percent of Enrollment
1871		5,208			
1872					
1873					
1874		37,267			
1875		55,268			
1876		48,643			
1877	175,304	48,643	28		
1878	197,125	72,655	37		
1879	197,125	79,435	40		
1880		86,399	45		
1881	231,144	91,041	39		
1882-3	234,889	95,055	40		
1883-4	240,285	111,743	47		
1884-5	243,174	110,150	45		
1885-6		119,248			
1886-7					
1887-8	267,657	120,553	45.04		
1888-9		120,390			
1889-90		150,702			
1890-1	315,817		47.72		

Date	School Population	Enrollment	Percent Enrolled	Daily Attendance	Percent of Enrollment
1891-2	325,680	156,836	48.16	91,942	58.63
1892-3	330,700	161,705		97,971	
1893-4	335,900	174,152	51.84	104,414	59.96
1894-5					
1895-6	346,300	170,270	49.16	99,246	58.29
1896-7		179,180	51.74	90,179	50.33
1897-8	360,400	180,565	50.10	109,386	60.58
1898-9	366,400	185,463	50.62	106,381	57.60

From 1871 to 1899 there was appropriated for public schools from all sources $17,543,536.65. This sum was expended approximately as follows:

For white schools, 1871-99.....$14,035,013.30
For Negro schools, 1871-99..... $3,508,523.35

Of this sum the Negroes contributed in *poll* and *direct* taxes $1,169,584.45 and about $2,000,000 in indirect taxes. From 1871 to 1899 it may be accurately said that Negro schools, with rare exception, cost the white tax-payers *not one penny.*

According to the report of Mr. Walter B. Hill, special supervisor of Negro education, to the depaftment of education for the year ending December 31, 1922, "In a number of cases, the Negroes are paying bond taxes, where all the money was spent for the white schools, and there were no improvements on the Negro schools. Indeed much of the money collected in taxes from Negroes was diverted for the use of white schools".

It became the dogma of the white citizen of this period that Negro education was a burden upon the white tax-payer. The inconsistency of this position was plainly shown in a petition of Georgia Negroes to the state legislature in 1900. The petition read, in part:

"Gentlemen:—There lies before your honorable body a proposed constitutional amendment known as the Bell bill, which is designed to cut down the present free school privileges of Negroes in this State. In behalf, therefore, of the 319,349 black children of Georgia, we, the undersigned, desire to lay before you certain considerations against the passage of this measure.

"As you well know, the underlying principle of the free common school system is that the education of the citizens of a commonwealth is not merely a private matter; that simply because a human being is born poor or humble or black is no adequate reason why he should be deprived of a chance to make himself a useful member of society. On the contrary poverty, hereditary weaknesses or racial differences are rather additional ground for increased effort on the part of the State to supplement these defects.

"Nor is this duty of public education a matter of mere charity or almsgiving; it is, first, a wise measure of self-defence to guard the State against the errors and crimes of sheer ignorance. No system of education can insure wisdom and virtue and truth, but it cannot for a moment be denied that the nations and states that have fostered the common school are leading civilization today. Secondly, free elementary education is, as Dr. Curry so recently said in your presence, not a burden on the State but a paying investment. Georgia needs intelligence and thrift, and the cultivation of brains whether in black or in white heads will bring even greater returns than the cultivation of the other resources of the State.

" . . . The State of Georgia possesses in its Negro peasantry the germ of a willing, thrifty agricultural and industrial people, capable of contributing unknown energy to the development of our State; therefore the way to profit most by black labor is not to pull it down, but pull it up—not to discourage it in ignorance and sloth, but to encourage it in intelligence and thrift. The greatest single agency for this is the Negro common school. Nor is the education of the black boy a burden or a menace to the white boy. The rise of one man does not involve the fall of his neighbor; on the contrary it is the clear interest of a man to be surrounded by intelligence and decency rather than to live among dumb driven cattle. The degradation of the black man is the real burden under which the Southern white man staggers today, and as that noted Georgian, Dr. Haygood, has said: 'The degrading of the black woman is the damnation of the white woman's son.'

"The South has long since come to acknowledge that Negroes are human beings capable of improvement. If so, then all matters affecting them, their interests and desires, as well as yours, must receive some attention. The black folk of Georgia desire knowledge; they want to become efficient, intelligent people. For this they toil and strive and sacrifice—of this they talk and dream. If you want them to be satisfied, give them opportunities to improve and advance. If you want to depopulate the fields and plantations and fill the cities, then shut up the country school houses and reduce farm labor to one dead level of brute toil.

" . . . Any proposition for the division of public income on the basis of the amounts paid into the public treasury by particular persons is inequitable. Who in the last analysis pays the tax on the land, the owner or the laborer? Who pays the tax on the houses, the landlord or the tenant? How far is a great corporation's wealth due to its business sagacity and how far to the toiling millions who buy its goods? It is an economic heresy to say that because A is the agent who pays B's and C's taxes, that therefore he is supporting B and C. The labor and sacrifice of B and C are their contributions to the public good.

"Moreover such propositions are thoroughly undemocratic and dangerous. If only Negro taxes are to go to Negro schools, is not this an entering wedge for further discrimination? Why should not the income of the workingmen alone be applied to the workingmen's children? or the income from Italians to Italian children? or the income of the rich man go solely to the education of the rich? If only our taxes are to go to our schools, by what shadow of justice could we be denied the right to administer our own school funds, and where would the dual government thus begun logically end this side of separate officials, separate courts and separate lawmakers? . . . "

From 1899 to 1924 the statistics for the Negro schools were as follows:

Year	School Population Colored	Enrollment	Percent Enrolled	Daily Attendance	Percent Enrollment Attending
1899-1900	380,970	195,276	51.25	119,276	61.08
1900-1	363,050	200,848	55.32	122,887	61.18
1901-2	363,050	204,706	56.39	124,553	59.59
1902-3	376,445	201,418	53.51	120,032	59.59
1903-4	387,166	201,418	53.51	119,705	59.79
1904-5	387,166	200,238	51.72	119,705	59.79
1905-6		200,238	51.72	119,705	59.79
1906-7	387,166	200,238	51.72	119,504	59.30
1907-8	405,948	201,512	49.64	145,856	68.35
1908-9	393,638	220,699	56.07		
1909-10		220,800		127,703	57.8
1910-11		222,942		130,678	58.6
1911-12		222,659		130,329	58.4
1912-13					
1913-14	366,473	239,783		144,399	60.2
1914-15	366,473	240,687		149,450	62.0
1915-16	366,473	254,890		159,155	62.5
1916-17	366,473	263,531		163,937	62.2
1917-18	369,107	261,501		160,916	61.5
1918-19	369,107	261,958		166,689	63.3
1919-20	369,107	277,023	71.8	185,415	67.0
1920-21	369,107	273,061	74.0	188,979	69.2
1921-22	369,107	275,193	74.5	188,513	68.5
1922-23					
1923-24	376,217	257,674	68.5	186,231	73.0

During this period the state funds have been continually divided disproportionately

and Negro schools have received insufficient sums to carry on their work.

LAWS RELATING TO NEGRO SCHOOLS

Today the Negro child in Georgia may be said to be provided for *legally* as well as in any other state in the nation. The constitution of the State and the statutes enacted by the legislature expressly provide for equal facilities for the children of both races, although here and there are clauses which when interpreted can refer only to Negroes. Article VIII, Section 4, Paragraph I of the state constitution reads:

"There shall be a thorough system of common schools for the education of the children as nearly uniform as practicable, the expense of which shall be provided for by taxation, or otherwise. The schools shall be free to all children of the state, but separate schools shall be provided for the white and colored races."

And Article V, Section 110 reads:

"Admission to all common schools shall be gratuitous to all children between the ages of six and eighteen years inclusive, residing in the sub-districts in which the schools are located. Colored and white children shall not attend the same school; and no teacher receiving or teaching white and colored pupils in the same school shall be allowed any compensation at all out of the common school fund."

In those Negro communities where the parents of Negro school children are required to pay a monthly fee toward the salary of the teacher, it will be seen that these laws do not obtain to their full extent. Article VIII, Section 84 reads, in part:

" . . . It shall also be the duty of the said Board of Education to make arrangements for the instruction of the white and colored races in separate schools. They shall as far as practicable provide the same facilities for both races in respect to attainments and abilities of teachers and for a minimum of six months length of term time; but the children of the white and colored races shall not be taught together in any common or public school of this state . . . "

As will be seen later, so far as Negro children are concerned the first part of this law is a dead letter.

In 1919 the state legislature enacted the following law for the consolidation of the schools:

"Beginning with the year 1923 the State Superintendent of Schools shall set aside Two Hundred Thousand Dollars ($200,000.00) or so much thereof as may be necessary from the funds derived from the rental of the Western and Atlantic Railroad to aid in the establishment and maintenance of consolidated schools in every county of the State. Where the county authorities by combining smaller schools in whole or in part into a consolidated school with at least four teachers and where evidence of this fact is furnished by the County Superintendent and Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools shall be authorized to transmit Five Hundred Dollars ($500.00) annually towards the support of this school. If, in addition, the local school authorities provide for a standard four year high school, One Thousand Dollars in addition shall be given from the funds before mentioned which shall be used to aid the local authorities in payment of the salaries of the principal and at least one assistant high school teacher. Such funds for the promotion and aid of consolidation and high school education shall not be sent to two schools in the same county until all other counties in the state have had opportunity for this aid."

Under this law white schools of Georgia have been much improved but practically no effort has been made to consolidate Negro schools. Article XI, Section 171 is as follows:

"Every parent, guardian or other person having charge and control of a child between the ages of eight and fourteen years, who is not exempted or excused as is hereinafter provided, shall cause the said child to be enrolled in and to attend continuously for six months of each year a public school of the district or of the city or town in which the child resides; which period of attendance shall commence at the beginning of the first term of the said school in the year. Such attendance at a public school shall not be required where the child attends for the same period some other school giving instruction in the ordinary branches of English education, or has completed the seventh grade of school work as prescribed by the State Board of Education, or where, for good reasons, the sufficiency of which shall be determined by the Board of Education of the county or of the city or town in which the child resides, the said Board excuses temporarily the child from such attendance, such Boards authorized to take into consideration *the seasons for agricultural labor and the needs for such labor in exercising their discretion as to the time for which children in farming districts shall be excused . . . "*

This section has been very loosely construed by school boards and thousands of Negro children have been excused because of the demand for their services on cotton plantations and in farming districts. Although by Section 172 attendance officers are provided for in all counties, little or no effort is made to enforce the attendance laws in respect to Negro children. This is one of the reasons for the lower average attendance for colored children than for white. Another is the fact, as will be seen later, that while $450,550.34 was spent in 1924 for the transportation of white children to consolidated schools, not one penny was similarly expended for Negro children.

STATE EXPENDITURES FOR SCHOOLS

However well the Negro child may seem protected by state laws, as an actual fact he receives but a small fraction of the educational facilities which are his due. The equipment, the school buildings, the salaries and hence the preparation of the teachers for Negro children are vastly inferior to those of white children and wholly inadequate for their needs.

According to the School Census of 1923 there were 900,352 children of school age in Georgia, 78.6 per cent of whom were enrolled in the common schools. Of these 253,494 were colored and 386,097 were white. The colored children represented 43 per cent of the children of the State in school. Yet from the sums of money available for school purposes in the fiscal year 1924, derived from state taxation, sale of school bonds and property, county and municipal taxes and so forth, colored children

received but 9 per cent. They received $1,176,250.25 from a total sum of $17,356,210.41.

The two tables following are statistical summaries of the enrollment, value of school properties and expenditures for the common school system of the entire State for 1923-24:

	White	Colored	Total
Total Number of Children of School Age	524,135	376,217	900,352
Total Number Enrolled	445,896	257,674	703,570
Per cent of Census Enrolled	85.0	*68.5	76.8
Attendance	358,076	186,231	544,307
Per cent Attendance	80.3	*73.0	76.6

* Average.

Enrollment by Grades:

White		Colored	
First Grade	94,203	First Grade	90,532
Second Grade	59,228	Second Grade	50,758
Third Grade	56,846	Third Grade	39,728
Fourth Grade	54,934	Fourth Grade	30,705
Fifth Grade	47,685	Fifth Grade	21,200
Sixth Grade	39,647	Sixth Grade	13,291
Seventh Grade	33,554	Seventh Grade	7,280
Eighth Grade	23,734	Eighth Grade	2,555
Ninth Grade	16,202	Ninth Grade	1,182
Tenth Grade	11,526	Tenth Grade	401
Eleventh Grade	7,816	Eleventh Grade	42
Twelfth Grade	521	Twelfth Grade	

Total number in Primary and Elementary Grades (Grades 1-7):
White, 386,097: Colored, 253,494: Total, 639,591
Total number in High School Grades (Grades 8-12):
White, 59,799: Colored, 4,180: Total, 63,979

School Property—Buildings

Owned by County Board of Education—

	Number	Value
White	2,876	$10,703,878
Colored	961	1,013,518
Total	3,837	$11,717,396

Owned by Municipalities:

	Number	Value
White	458	$16,657,800
Colored	214	2,175,211
Total	627	$18,833,011

All other School Buildings:

	Number	Value
White	934	$3,417,102
Colored	1,678	582,050
Total	2,612	$3,999,152

Grand Total Number and Value of Buildings:

	Number	Value
White	4,277	$30,778,780
Colored	2,853	3,770,779
Total	7,130	$34,549,559

Agricultural High Schools: (white)

Buildings and Equipment	$1,305,636.75
Grounds	277,900.00
	$1,583,536.75

School Property—Libraries

	No.	Volumes	Value
White	1,417	269,128	$291,046.90
Colored	115	12,188	9,106.50
Total for Common Schools	1,532	281,316	$300,153.40

Value of Equipment not including Libraries:
Common Schools:

White	$2,884,157.72
Colored	301,852.14
	$3,186,009.86

Grand Totals of School Property

Total Value Common School Property, white	$33,953,984.62
Total Value Common School Property, colored	4,081,737.64
Total Value Agricultural High School property, white	1,601,886.75

School Property—Nature of Buildings

	White	Colored
Number of Stone or Cement Buildings	37	9
Number of Brick Buildings	586	39
Number of Frame Buildings	3,544	2,825
Number of Log Buildings	3	33
Number of One-Room Buildings	1,551	2,330
Number of Two-Room Buildings	1,168	322
Number of More-than-Two-Room Buildings	1,451	254

Patent Desks

	White	Colored
Number of Schools having Patent Desks	3,223	520
Number of Desks	290,825	49,468

School Improvement

Schoolhouses built in 1924:

	Number	Value
White	127	$2,015,422.01
Colored	43	128,765.38
Total	170	$2,144,187.39

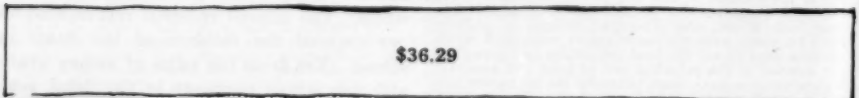
School houses repaired in 1924:

	Number	Value
White	750	$302,276.30
Colored	283	20,622.16
Total	1,033	$322,898.46

The State constitution provides that one-half of the total taxation be applied to common school education. So for the years 1924 and 1925, $4,250,000 was appropriated by the General Assembly for the public schools. This amount is distributed among the counties according to the number of children from 6 to 18 years of age. Based upon the

(THESE CHARTS BASED ON STATISTICS OF 1924)

AVERAGE AMOUNT WHICH SHOULD LEGALLY BE EXPENDED ON EACH CHILD IN GEORGIA YEARLY



AVERAGE AMOUNT ACTUALLY EXPENDED ON EACH WHITE CHILD YEARLY

AVERAGE AMOUNT EXPENDED ON EACH COLORED CHILD YEARLY

school census of 1923 this amounted to $4.44 per child. The amount spent on Negro children shows clearly that counties secure money from the State for Negro children and proceed to spend it on white children.

We have below a statement of the distribution of school funds for 1924:

Financial—Receipts

Balance from 1923	$423,048.95
Received from State	4,415,616.77
Received from County and Municipal Tax	7,720,509.20
Received from District Tax	1,012,413.79
Received from Incidental and Tuition Fees	519,820.67
Received from Sale of School Property	415,679.35
Received from Sale of School Bonds	583,609.27
Received from Donations	107,841.75
Received from all other sources and Loans	1,820,304.72
Total Raised for Common Schools	$17,018,844.47

Financial—Disbursements

Paid to State Department, Printing, Supervisors, etc		$41,006.49
Paid to Supts. of Special and County Systems		366,996.28
Paid to Members of County Boards of Education		25,523.74
Incidental Office Expenses of County Superintendents		50,515.38
Paid to Attendance Officers		38,187.68
Total Cost of Supervision		$522,229.57
Paid to white teachers	$9,400,842.49	
Paid to colored teachers	969,666.27	$10,370,508.76
Paid for buildings, white	1,492,953.54	
Paid for buildings, colored	102,510.76	$1,595,464.30
Paid for Equipment, white	312,101.22	
Paid for Equipment, colored	11,663.11	$323,764.33
Paid for Supplies, white	140,616.91	
Paid for Supplies, colored	21,200.95	$161,817.86
Paid for Repairs, white	290,453.29	
Paid for Repairs, colored	16,675.86	$307,129.15
Paid for insurance, white	101,066.32	
Paid for insurance, colored	2,787.09	$103,853.41
Paid for transportation of pupils, white		$450,550.34
Paid for promotion of health		$10,716.96
Miscellaneous expense, white	2,711,937.48	
Miscellaneous expense, colored	21,888.82	$2,733,826.30
Total Expenditures for Common Schools		$17,356,210.41

In addition to the above expenditures mention should be made of the District Agricultural High Schools which are maintained for whites. There is nothing corresponding to these supported by the State for colored. During the past year $176,200 was spent for their maintenance and $30,500 for building.

Nearly all of the Barrett Rogers Fund of $200,000 to help the consolidation of rural schools and the building of standard high schools was spent on the white schools and white consolidated rural schools. The extent of rural consolidation among colored schools is negligible.

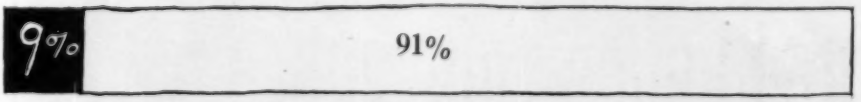
A SURVEY OF THE STATE BY COUNTIES

For the purpose of this survey over 75 counties were personally investigated. The limited space will not permit the publication of the entire mass of data collected but a summary of the reports on 23 typical counties is here given:

(THESE CHARTS BASED ON STATISTICS OF 1924)

NEGROES — WHITES

RATIO OF WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN OF SCHOOL AGE



RATIO OF SUMS EXPENDED FOR EDUCATION OF WHITE AND COLORED CHILDREN

Paid for Libraries, white	23,717.70	
Paid for Libraries, colored	258.00	$23,975.70
Paid for Janitors, white	246,356.46	
Paid for Janitors, colored	11,834.12	$258,190.58
Paid for fuel, water, lights, white	237,444.53	
Paid for fuel, water, lights, colored	10,100.23	$247,544.76
Paid for interest, white	238,973.35	
Paid for interest, colored	7,665.04	$246,638.39

Ben Hill County

Cowokee, in this county, uses as a school a dilapidated wooden building which was formerly a church. There is one room, one teacher and the school runs for four months. The enrollment is 35, the attendance good. The salary of the teacher is $25 a month.

The school at Fitzgerald is held in a frame building which is in a very dangerous condition being nearly ready to fall. There are 7 rooms and 6 teachers. The term is nine months and the enrollment is 400. The principal's salary is $50 a month and the teachers receive $40.

The school at Union is held in a frame building with no windows, no lights and the school benches have no backs. There is one room. The term time is four months and the teacher's salary varies from $20 to $30 a month. According to the official report of the Commissioner of Education in Georgia, "The Negro schools in this county are deplorable and should be improved in some way".

Berrien County

The schools in this county for colored are taught mainly in old churches with no equipment other than a stove, benches and a few feet of home-made blackboard.

Brooks County

In Brooks County there are 44 Negro schools. 22 of these are in school buildings of which 12 are above the average for the Negro schools in rural districts. One of these occupies a Rosenwald school building and the other 11, though not well planned for school purposes, are substantial frame buildings. These 12 schools are doing fairly good work. The other Negro schools in the county are taught in lodge rooms or churches and the equipment is negligible.

Simmon Hill is a typical school in this county. There is a frame building in good condition with two rooms and two teachers. The school term is seven months and the grades taught are from the 1st to the 8th. The enrollment of the school is 180. The salaries range from $45 to $65 a month. Of the teachers in this school, one has had 8th grade training and the other, in addition, has attended two summer terms at a teachers institute.

Bibb County

The following table gives the statistics for this county:

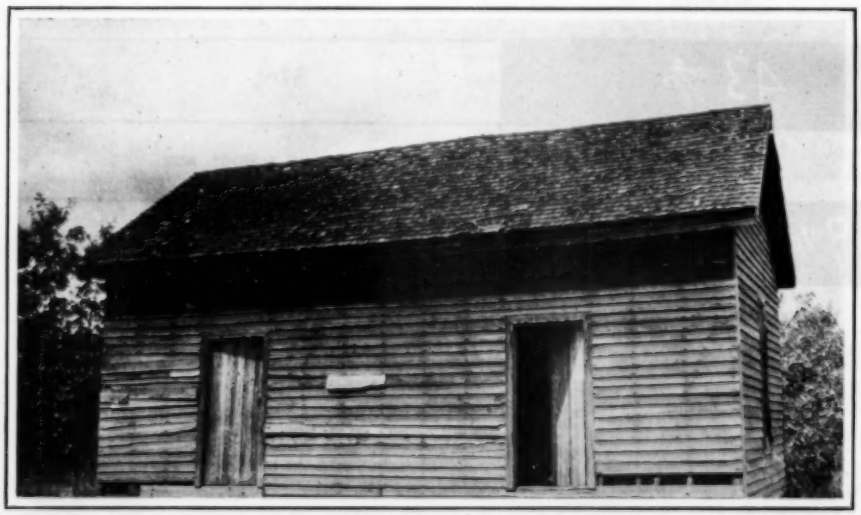
State School Census

Number of Children 6 to 18 years of age

	White	Colored	Total
1918	10,407	8,822	19,229
1923	10,642	8,847	19,489

Disbursements for 1923:	
Teachers:	
White	$320,868.66
Colored	52,292.00
Buildings and Repairs:	
White	$16,941.29
Colored	.....
Equipment:	
White	$3,127.57
Colored	.....
Supplies, libraries, janitors, fuel, insurance, and other expenses:	
White	$85,344.27
Colored	.....
Transportation:	
White	$14,968.93
Colored	Nothing

Twenty-three white schools have been consolidated but no effort has been made to consolidate Negro schools.



THE NEGRO SCHOOL AT RED LEVEL, GEORGIA

At Macon which is in this county there is the Hudson High and Industrial School, a brick building. The 8th, 9th and 10th grades are taught in this school for a term of nine months. There are 5 teachers of academic subjects and 5 teachers of industrial subjects. The enrollment of the school is 384. All but one of the academic teachers are college graduates, one is a normal school graduate. The industrial teachers are from Tuskegee and other such schools. The salary for these teachers is $75 a month for 11 months. The average age of the children attending the school is from 14 to 18.

The Hazel Street Elementary School of Macon is a frame building in fair condition. There are 13 teachers and an enrollment of 857. All of the teachers have completed the 12th grade of normal work. Two are college graduates. The term runs for nine months and the average salary is from $35 to $63. Double sessions are held to accommodate the children. The playground connected with this school was equipped by the teachers and pupils who contributed $550. This has practically solved the problem of discipline, for formerly two policemen were necessary at dismissal hour.

There is an open air school supported by the city. There were between 40 and 50 under-fed and feeble children registered since January when the school opened.

The rest of the graded schools in this county are like the Hazel Street school, except in the case of one at Unionville, which runs through the 4th grade only. The schools are generally located in the unpaved sections of the city where the colored people live. All the schools except the Hudson High School are frame. It is poorly constructed and of the cheapest brick and wooden material. The frame buildings in most cases are badly in need of repair. In some of the schools the benches are modern and in some cases they are broken down and often three children must sit on one seat. There is no attendance officer who gives any attention to colored children. All the teachers start at the disgracefully low salary of $35 in spite of their educational experience. The principals receive $90 a month. In the graded schools the colored teachers and pupils must make the fires and do the other janitor work. No compensation is given for this. Although the teachers have protested against this the school authorities have treated their complaints with utter contempt. The principal of the high school, who ever seeks to ingratiate himself with the white people, has been sympathetic toward this attempt of the white authorities to make the teachers manual laborers. In contrast with this state of affairs, a $375,000 high school for white children has just been completed.

Camden County

When in full operation there are 25 Negro schools in this county, the great majority of which are one-teacher schools. Many of them are of the type too often found throughout the State and unworthy of the name of school building. However, the colored race is the first to set the example in building a first-class school building at Kinwood. This building was built with the aid of the Rosenwald Fund. It is a few miles from Kingsland and does the race credit as it is a very attractive building and a great improvement over the majority of the buildings of the county.

The school at Kingsland is typical. It is a frame building in fairly good condition, equipped with desks and benches. There is one room, one teacher and the term is for seven months. The grades are from the 1st to the 6th and the enrollment of the school is 50. The teacher, who has completed the first year of high school, receives $45 a month.

Colquitt County

According to the Commissioner of Education's report, "very little per capita is spent upon Negroes and there is not a decent school building in the county". At Union Grove, in this county, a Rosenwald school was erected but was shortly after *mysteriously burned.* Later another school was built. This also was *mysteriously burned.* It has been necessary since to use a private house for a school building. There is one teacher, with high school education, who receives $40 a month. The term is for five and a half months and instruction is given up to the 5th grade.

Barber Grove school, in the same county, is conducted in a frame building which was formerly a church. The teacher, who has been through the 10th grade and attended two summer terms at a teachers institute, receives $35 a month for the five months the school is in session. The en-

rollment is 35 and instruction is given up to the 5th grade.

Clark's Hill school and other schools in this county are very similar to these two cited. At Clark's Hill school, however, the teacher's salary is supplemented by the parents.

Crisp County

At Arabi in this county is a frame church building in fairly good condition. School is held in one room up in the attic. There are two teachers who receive $30 a month plus 25c from the patrons of the school. The enrollment is 130, the term six months and instruction is given to the 7th grade.

The school at Cordele in Crisp County is a frame building with six rooms. There are 5 teachers whose salaries range from $20 to $25 a month. The term time is eight months and instruction is given through the 8th grade.

DeKalb County

According to the report of the Commissioner of Education: "This county is giving every white child a high school opportunity by proffering to each adolescent pupil a grant of $2 per month as a transportation fee provided the pupil lives more than 3 miles from the high school. With a central senior high school in each of the 5 districts this affords a good arrangement." There is no such consolidation for Negro schools and nothing is spent for transportation of Negro children to schools that exist.

There are 15 Negro schools. The school at Stone Mountain in this county is a frame barn equipped with planks having no backs, and a very few desks. The enrollment is 214 but the average attendance only 119. There are four teachers, two of whom receive $25 a month, another $35 and the principal $45.

Fulton County

The following table gives the statistics for this county.

State School Census—1923

Number of Children 6 to 18 years of age

	White	Colored	Total
1918	29,490	11,312	40,802
1923	44,567	21,208	65,775

Disbursements 1923:	
Teachers:	
White	$138,315.41
Colored	16,742.46
Buildings and Repairs:	
White	$12,768.30
Colored	.....
Equipment:	
White	$11,663.67
Colored	.....
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance, and other Expenses:	
White	$134,212.02
Colored	.....
Transportation:	
White	$27.72
Colored	Nothing

Independent Systems

Atlanta:	
Teachers:	
White	$1,437,015.26
Colored	205,259.32
Buildings and Repairs:	
White	$2,063,041.88
Colored	895,834.28*

* This appropriation was secured only after the colored citizens of Atlanta, under the auspices of the N.A.A.C.P., had twice defeated a bond issue which required for passage that a certain number of the citizens vote. The colored citizens either voted against the measure or refrained altogether from going to the polls.

THE BOOKER WASHINGTON COLORED HIGH SCHOOL
ATLANTA, GEORGIA

Equipment:	
White	$48,634.65
Colored	6,947.81
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance and other Expenses:	
White	$284,973.38
Colored	40,446.18
College Park:	
Teachers:	
White	$17,311.68
Colored	1,477.32
Buildings and Repairs:	
White	$427.75
Colored	.....
Equipment:	
White	$1,015.46
Colored	.....
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance and other Expenses:	
White	$2,939.98
Colored	.....
East Point:	
Teachers:	
White	$30,843.06
Colored	2,500.00
Buildings and Repairs:	
White	$76,000.00
Colored	3,750.00
Equipment:	
White	$3,250.00
Colored	250.00
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance and other Expenses:	
White	$4,357.52
Colored	602.95

The schools in Atlanta which is in Fulton County, despite new school buildings, are still inadequate for the needs of the colored children. M. E. Coleman, Director of Census and Attendance for the colored elementary schools, in his report of January 7, 1926, stated that the number of available seats in classrooms, many of which were held in basements, portables and rented quarters, was 6,623. The total enrollment in the colored elementary day schools was 12,264. This leaves 5,641 children without a seat or a desk at which to study. The situation in the colored high school of Atlanta is nearly as bad. The total seating capacity is 1,170. The enrollment in the high school is 1,882. This leaves 712 children without seats. The principal stated on January 21 that there would be 270 more students attending the high school at the next session than had been attending at the time of the census.

There are in Atlanta 177 teachers in the elementary school for Negroes, 63 in the high school and 67 in the night schools. School principals' salaries average $1050 for schools with two to five rooms and $1290 for schools of from six to ten or more rooms. The graded teachers receive $690 the first year, $750 the second, $810 the third, $870 the fourth and $900 the fifth year. After the fifth year $5 per month is given for each summer's work in an accredited school until the teacher's salary reaches the maximum of $1200.

There are 19 rural schools in Fulton County, three of which are Rosenwald schools. The school at New Hope is a wooden building in fairly good condition, with two rooms. There are two teachers and the term is for nine months. Instruction is given through the 6th grade.

The Blakeville school is held in a church in very dilapidated condition, equipped with benches and desks. Its one room is curtained off. There are two teachers and the term is for nine months.

The Mount Mary school is held in a dilapidated church. There is one teacher and instruction is given through the 5th grade.

Colored teachers are paid $45 a month as a rule. Those teaching a double session are paid $65 a month.

Glynn County

The following table will give the statistics for Glynn County:

State School Census

Number of Children 6 to 18 years of age

	White	Colored	Total
1918	2,339	2,606	4,945
1923	2,377	2,697	5,074

The white teachers were paid	$53,971.88
The colored teachers were paid	13,624.23
Building and Repairs:	
White	$111,982.01
Colored	1,819.90
Equipment:	
White	$819.14
Colored	.....
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance and other expenses:	
White	$15,761.45
Colored	.....
Transportation:	
White	$3,747.20
Colored	Nothing
Total	$207,178.21

Of a total of $207,178.21, the colored people received $15,444.13.

The school term of most of the schools in this county is for nine months. Teachers' salaries range from $55 to $87.50. The truant officer, who is white, is very indifferent toward enforcing the truant law for the colored children.

Grady County

Out of 31 colored schools only 3 are owned by the county board. St. Luke's School is typical of this county. It is held in a church building in fair condition. The school term is for six months. There is one teacher and one room. The enrollment is 35 and the attendance good. The salary of the teacher is $20 a month except the last month when the teacher receives $30. The teacher of the school has been through the 7th grade and attended one summer session at a teachers institute.

Hancock County

There are 1517 white children between the ages of 6 and 18 in Hancock County. There are 4,535 colored children of the same age here. The colored children represent over 69 per cent of the children of school age in the county, but the expenditures for white and colored are entirely disproportionate. In Sparta, which is typical of the entire county, the following amounts were spent for white and colored schools:

Teachers salaries:	
White	$7,549.98
Colored	702.00
Equipment:	
White	$993.87
Colored	.....
Supplies, etc.	
White	$833.26
Colored	.....

The East End public school in this town is an unsightly, unpainted, old wooden building located on the outskirts of the town. There are four teachers and the enrollment is 160. The salary of the principal is $40 a month and of the other three, $22 a month. The term time is seven months.

Jefferson County

The school at Lofton is a frame building of two rooms with two teachers, running for a term of five months. The enrollment is 140, the attendance good. Instruction is given from the 1st to the 8th grade. Both of the teachers have been through the 8th grade and have attended two summer terms in a teachers institute. Their salary is $15 a month for five months.

Jones County

A typical school of Jones County is the school at Round Oak which is a frame building built by the county trustees. It is a one-room school with one teacher and an enrollment of 50. The teacher's salary is $22 a month. The term time is five months. Students are taken out of school during peach season. This was ordered by the whites.

Macon County

A typical school in this county is the Zion Grove school which is a frame building in poor condition with one room. It is equipped with plank benches. The enrollment is 76 with an average attendance of 65. The teacher, who has completed the 8th grade, receives $22.50 a month.

Mitchell County

The report of the Commissioner of Education for 1924 recommended the construction of Negro school buildings. "At present," said the report, "the majority of them are taught in church houses, no seats, too little light, no equipment, little sanitation; most of the money spent on the Negro schools is wasted." A typical school in this county is Midway School which is a frame dwelling house, the former school house having been "mysteriously burned". There is one room and one teacher who receives $20 a month. The enrollment is 46 and instruction is given through the 5th grade.

Monroe County

Colored teachers get $15 per month in this county and the schools run for five months.

Muskogee County

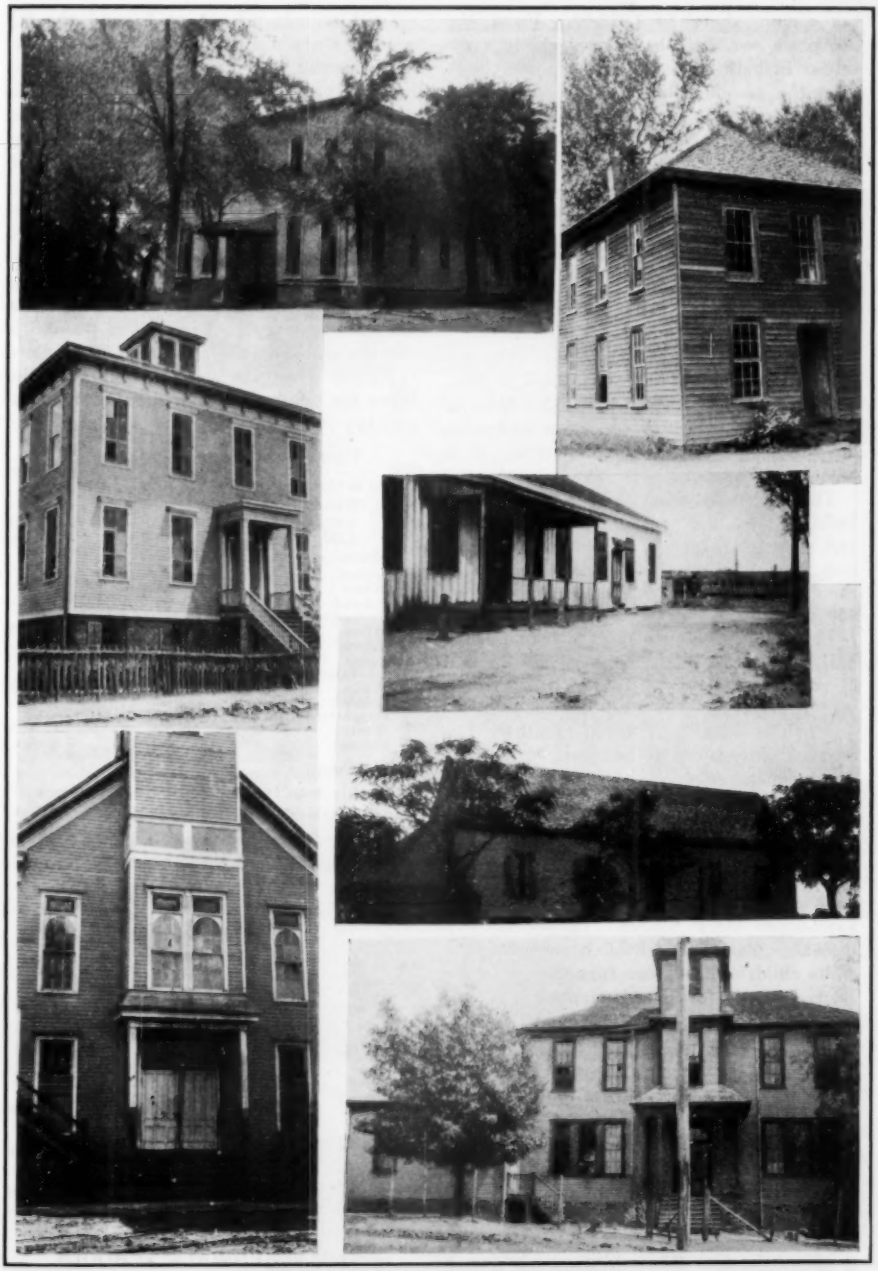
The school at Nance's Shop for colored is a frame building in fair condition, with plank benches. The salary of the teacher, who has had a high school education and attended three summer terms in a teachers institute, is $40 a month. The enrollment is 76, instruction is given through the 6th grade and the term is 7 months.

Pierce County

The Commissioner of Education's report for Pierce County is as follows: "Very few Negro schools were in actual operation and there was no evidence of progress at any of them."

Richmond County

In Richmond County, according to the school census of 1923, there were 18,864 children of school age, 9,199 of whom were Negroes. In Augusta in this county there are 8 colored schools in frame buildings. Five of these schools give work through the 8th grade while the other three give primary work. There are 62 colored teachers including 8 who are employed for domestic science which includes laundry work. There is no colored high school in the city. Those children who want a high school education must pay for it at Paine College and Haines Normal and Industrial Institute. The estimated budget of colored schools for 1924-5 shows $42,960. The whites received for high schools $138,740; for grammar schools $168,115; for special teachers $29,925. In the county $7,000 was appropriated for colored schools while $48,060 was spent for whites. The county received on its basis of 9,199 Negro children, between the ages of 6 and 18, $40,843.56. In 1923 the county-wide school



TYPICAL COLORED ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Green Street School at Macon
East Broad Street School at Savannah
Maple Street School at Savannah
School at Henderson
School at Augusta
Unionville School, Macon
School at Athens

tax amounted to $484,922.69. From the above we see that the colored children received in both city and county little more than the amount paid by the state to the county.

Spalding County

In this county there are 5 white grammar schools, 1 white high school and 3 colored grammar schools. The colored buildings are of wooden material.

The school at Griffin in this county is a frame building with 8 rooms in good condition. There are 8 teachers and the school term lasts for 9 months. Instruction is given through the seventh grade. The enrollment is 300 and the attendance is good. The teachers receive $50 a month. Most of them have high school education and some have attended two summer terms at a teachers institute.

The school at Springhill is in a frame building with 3 rooms and has 3 teachers and runs for a term of 9 months. Instruction is given through the fourth grade and the enrollment is 125. The teachers receive $50 a month.

The County school is in a frame lodge hall in poor condition. It has 3 rooms and 2 regular teachers. Advanced students in the school are drafted to teach beginners. The term lasts for 6 months. The average attendance is between 56 and 76. The teachers' salaries vary from $30 to $35.

Stewart County

The Negro schools, according to the official report, are thick and plentiful. They are most all taught in church buildings and have no equipment other than a stove and hand-made black boards. In one or two instances deserted school houses for the white children have been turned over to the colored people for school purposes.

Troup County

There are 40 one-teacher colored schools in this county. Nearly all of these schools are old church buildings not only unfit for teaching but unfit for people to sit in. The whites have four beautiful consolidated county schools. Trucks transport the children. They are preparing to build five more consolidated schools for the whites. Colored children must walk 3 and 4 miles to these shacks. The white schools run 8 and 9 months while the colored schools run only 5 months. The whites schools have as high as 10 grades in some cases while the colored schools do not go beyond the 5th grade. Only a few colored teachers have gone beyond the 7th grade. Their pay ranges from $18 to $25 per month. The superintendent excuses the low salaries by saying the teachers are untrained. On the other hand, he does not offer higher salaries to attract trained teachers. Only one white teacher received as low as $50 per month. Most of them received $75 a month and upwards. The superintendent has talked about building a Rosenwald school for three years but whenever the question of location has come up he has always wanted to put the school on a plantation. The following table gives the statistics and expenditures for white and colored children in the county:

Troup County—State School Census 1923

	No. of Children 6-18 years			Illiterates over 10 years		
	White	Colored	Total	White	Colored	Total
1918	5,107	4,912	10,019	45	248	293
1923	5,935	5,814	11,749	34	370	404

Disbursement of Funds:	
Teachers:	
White	$22,532.67
Colored	3,794.73
Equipment:	
White	$203.00
Colored	.....
Supplies, Libraries, Janitors, Fuel, Insurance, and other expenses:	
White	$522.99
Colored	.....
Transportation:	
White	$2,889.56
Colored	Nothing

Ware County

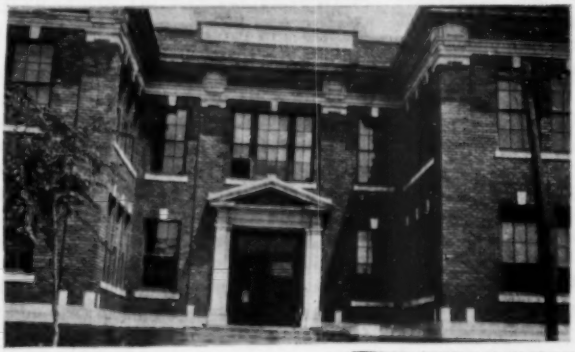
In this county there are 31 white schools and 11 schools for colored children. Only one of the latter is owned by the county, 9 buildings being Negro churches and nearly all of these being unfit for school purposes. The following table gives the statistics of this county:

	Number of Children 6 to 18 years		
	White	Colored	Total
1918	4,192	2,013	6,205
1923	5,154	2,278	7,432

White Teachers	$26,529.26
Negro Teachers	2,169.15
Buildings:	
White	$2,516.33
Colored	.....
Equipment:	
White	$3,690.00
Colored	.....
Supplies, etc.:	
White	$13,877.80
Colored	.....
Transportation:	
White	$3,020.00
Colored	Nothing

THE ROSENWALD SCHOOLS

The best colored schools in the state owned by the counties are the Rosenwald schools. Beginning July 1, 1924, $30,000



Left — Cuyler Junior High School (Colored)—Savannah

Below — White Junior High School—Savannah

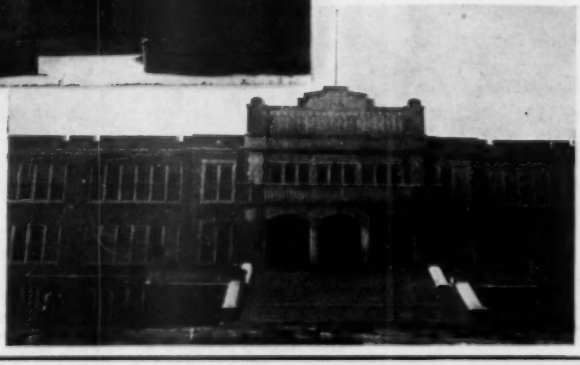
Above—Colored High School—Athens

Above

Entrance to White High School—Athens

Above — Hudson Colored High School—Macon

Right—New $375,000 White High School—Macon



was appropriated to the State of Georgia by the Rosenwald Fund for the building of Negro schools. But most of the money was not expended. The amounts allowed by the Fund were as follows:

For a one-teacher school	$400
For a two-teacher school	700
For a three-teacher school	900
For a four-teacher school	1,000
For a five-teacher school	1,300
For a six-teacher school or larger	1,500
For a teachers' home	900

Two hundred dollars ($200) a room is also allowed for additions to Rosenwald schools. The Rosenwald program to June 30th of the year 1926 shows the following for Georgia:

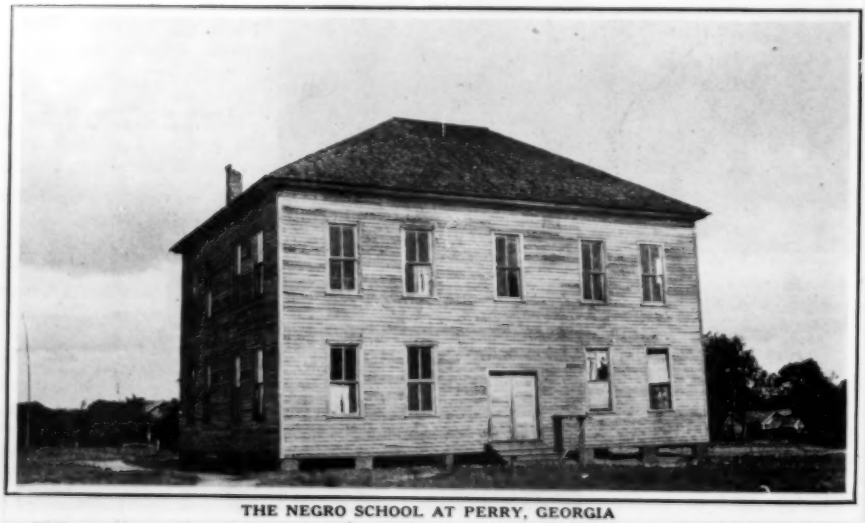
No. of schools	132
No. of homes	8
Capacity: Teachers	409
Pupils	18,405
Contributed by Negroes	$144,840
Contributed by Whites	28,688
Contributed by Public authorities	265,507
Contributed by Rosenwald Fund	114,530

In the following table we give the Rosenwald program in two unusually progressive counties since the inauguration of the plan. The Jeanes supervisor is chiefly responsible for this development. She was assisted by colored clubs in churches and outside. From this table, we see that the whites have given in cash and materials about $916.50; the colored people have given cash and labor amounting to $5,800, besides labor on four schools plus $3,600 in cash and trees for these schools. The counties gave only $1,200 while the Fund gave $6,800.

ROSENWALD SCHOOLS IN HOUSTON AND PEACH COUNTIES, GEORGIA

	County	Rooms	Name of School	When Erected	Amount collected from Whites	Colored	County	Rosenwald Fund	No. of Teachers	No. of Grades
1.	Peach	4	Byron	1922-23	$200.00	Cash and Labor $1,800.00	$100.00	$900.00	2	7
2.	Peach	4	Powersville	1924	125.00	Cash and Labor $1,500.00	200.00	900.00	2	7
3.	Peach	4	Minui	1923-24	186.00	Cash and Labor $2,000.00	200.00	900.00	2	7
4.	Peach	3	Myrtle	1923-24	30.00	Cash and Labor $500.00	100.00	700.00	2	6
5.	Houston	3	Jerusalem	1922	Lumber and Trees $125.00*	Labor, trees, etc. $800.00	100.00	700.00	2	6
6.	Houston	3	Mt. Nebo	1922	Lumber and Trees $140.00*	$1,000.00	100.00	700.00	2	6
7.	Houston	3	Kings Chapel	1921	Lumber and Trees $50.00*	Labor $1,000.00	100.00	800.00	2	6
8.	Houston	2	Henderson	1925	$50.00	Labor and $600.00	100.00	400.00	1	6
9.	Houston	2	McInnis	1925	2.50	Labor and $600.00	100.00	400.00	1	6
10.	Houston	2	Green Grove	1925	8.00	Labor and $600.00	100.00	400.00	1	6

* Estimated.



THE NEGRO SCHOOL AT PERRY, GEORGIA

PREPARATION OF NEGRO TEACHERS

Of primary importance to the common school are the means for preparing teachers. Teachers receive their training in normal schools, institutes and summer schools.

According to the report of the Department of Education for the year ending December 31, 1924, there were only 119 colored students in the normal practice courses of the colored schools conducted by the State. Nearly all the colored students receiving professional teacher-training are receiving it in private schools such as Spelman College and Atlanta University. Here and there are scattered over the State day institutes for colored teachers. They are often conducted by the colored supervisors. For the whites we find on the other hand 13 one month institutes conducted at the District Agricultural schools.

The colored summer schools in the State are conducted at Morehouse College, Fort Valley High and Industrial School, Georgia State Industrial College and the State Schools at Forsyth and Albany. The State appropriates $20,000 annually for the summer institutes for teachers. In 1923 $2,000 of this was spent on colored schools. These schools are aided by the General Education Board.

The certification of teachers began in 1924. Up to date we have the following table of white and colored teachers holding state certificates:

Number of teachers: White, 12,569; Colored, 4,444; Total, 17,013.

Number of teachers holding Professional College Certificates: White, 634; Colored, 20; Total, 654.

Number of teachers holding Professional Normal Certificates: White, 1,386; Colored, 84: Total, 1,452.

Number of teachers holding Professional Elementary Certificates: White, 843; Colored, 119; Total, 962.

Number of teachers holding Provisional High School Certificates: White, 510; Colored, 41; Total, 551.

Number of teachers holding Provisional Elementary Certificates: White, 1,400; Colored. 205; Total, 1,605.

Number holding College Professional Certificates (Old Form): White, 334; Colored, 33: Total, 367.

Number holding Normal Professional Certificates (Old Form): White, 647; Colored, 67; Total, 714.

Number holding High School License (Old form): White, 865; Colored, 140; Total, 1,005.

Number holding General Elementary License (Old form): White, 3,808; Colored, 2,182; Total, 5,990.

Number holding Primary License (Old form): White, 901; Colored, 863; Total, 1,764.

Number of teachers for whom no license reported: White, 1,259; Colored, 690; Total, 1,949.

Average Monthly Salaries: Grammar Grades, White, male, $82.83; female, $69.86; Colored, male, $40.88; female, $33.27.

High School Grades: White, male, $146.33; female, $92.49; Colored, male, $75.05; female, $48.42.

General Average: White, $97.88; Colored, $49.41.

SUMMARY

From our survey of the colored schools of the State, we are led to certain definite conclusions.

First, it does not appear that the colored schools enter definitely into the minds of those who are charged with common school education. This is borne out by the fact that more than half of the schools for the colored children are taught in churches, lodge halls and dwellings. Another evidence is the absence of any general supervision of colored schools. County superintendents, burdened with a large number of schools to supervise, pay but little attention to colored schools. In one instance, a teacher had not seen her superintendent during the past six years. In some counties, there are colored supervisors; but even here there is a lack of strict supervision. These colored supervisors are burdened chiefly with raising money for the building of school houses and the supplementing of the teachers' salaries.

The data collected from counties scattered over the State show that in fifteen counties the schools run less than six months, which is the legal requirement. The churches and lodge rooms which are used for Negro schools are chiefly old, dilapidated buildings, unfit for teaching purposes. In some cases, they have no means of getting light; often there are no desks. In most of the churches and lodge halls, the children sit on plank benches which sometimes have no backs to them.

In some counties, there is not a single school building for colored children. As a rule, the one-teacher schools do not give instruction beyond the fifth grade. There is a large number of consolidated white schools in the State which afford white children, through transportation, education through the eleventh grade in most cases. Besides, the white children have an opportunity to attend the district agricultural schools, where they can secure junior college work. While there are 275 accredited public high schools for whites in the State there are only two accredited public high schools for Negroes.

The fact that there is great hostility towards Negro education is attested by the burning of schools in several sections. Two instances are cited in our survey. Even where county superintendents are favorable to giving some consideration to Negro schools, they are often hampered by their school boards, which are hostile in many cases to either his time or the resources of the county being devoted to colored schools. From the statistics given on the distribution of school funds, it is apparent how little is spent for equipment. This survey has shown that in the majority of cases, the parents, the colored supervisors and even the teachers must take part of their own income in getting the most necessary equipment for the pupils.

When we consider the salary paid Negro teachers we find it as low as $15 per month in some places. The salaries are often supplemented by ten and fifteen cents per pupil, which is paid by the patrons. This method of pay, of course, fails to secure the best type of teachers. In fact, in some counties they do not want good colored teachers. The colored teacher is often selected by some influential white man in the community from among poorly prepared Negroes who have worked for him.

While the preparation of teachers as a rule does not go beyond the seventh or eighth grade, the survey shows that a large number of them have been supplementing their education by attending summer schools.

There are several factors affecting the attendance of Negro children: First, the indifference of the parents; second, the failure of the authorities to enforce the compulsory school law; third, the distance of the schools prevent their attending in bad weather; fourth, we note that periodically, epidemics of measles and other preventable diseases empty the school houses; fifth, the children of tenant farmers, especially, are forced to leave school whenever their labor is required on the farm; sixth, poor school houses are often uncomfortable in winter.

The information which it has been possible to gather shows great retardation of Negro children. It apears that irregular attendance causes them to remain several terms in one grade. So it is a normal sight to see boys 17 and 18 years of age in the fifth and sixth grades. In some cases, superintendents have told the teachers to pass all pupils after their second year in a grade. Of course, this makes education a farce.

The one encouraging sign in the State at present is the Rosenwald program for Negro schools, which is every year increasing its scope and influence. But no outside body can bring education to the great mass of the people. The State itself, must justly administer its educational facilities to the end that all its children receive an equal opportunity for advancement.